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1. *Clan, Lineage, Local Community and the Feud in a Rifian Tribe* [*Aith Waryaghar, Morocco*]

I. INTRODUCTION TO THE AITH WARYAGHAR

This paper will discuss the social structure and territorial system, with special reference to the bloodfeud, among the Aith Waryaghar[1], a tribe of sedentary agriculturists (as are all their immediate neighbors) in the Moroccan Rif. Aith Waryaghar are the largest single tribe in that region, with, according to the Moroccan census of 1960, a population of 75,895. This population, if the Spanish figure for 1929—39,537—is correct (and there is no good reason to suppose that it is not) has almost doubled since effective Spanish occupation of the tribal territory (1029 square kilometers) in 1926. This followed the surrender in that year, to the French, of 'Abd al-Krim, Aith Waryaghar's most famous "native son." The population density, particularly in the northern lowland of this tribal area, is one of the highest in rural Morocco, with over 120 people per square kilometer.

The territory occupied by the Aith Waryaghar, which looks in

I am grateful to the author for permission to print this example of an "enclave" as an original contribution to this *Reader*. The research and writing were supported in part by a grant from the Social Science Research Council. [Ed.]

[1] I use the name, throughout this article and in all my other publications, by which members of this tribe refer to themselves in their own Rifian Berber language. Throughout, in the interests of accuracy, I retain all tribal and segment names in Rifian Berber, rather than in Arabic. I should add, however, that in Arabic the tribal name is Bni Waryaghal; French "Beni Ouriaghel" and Spanish "Beni Uriaguel" are not used here except in quoted passages. The orthography I have given will also distinguish the tribe in question from the small Arabic-speaking tribe of Bni Waryagil, located some distance southwest of the Rif proper, at Tafrant on the Wargha River. Aith Waryaghar disclaim any connections with this latter group, in any case.

outline like a lopsided sack with the heavy end at the southern bottom, extends into the back country behind al-Husaima (Alhucemas or El-Hoceima) and Adjir. Adjir was 'Abd al-Krim's old capital and since his time has been the principal seat of tribal administration, both under Spain, 1926–56, and under the Independent Moroccan Government since then. The tribal land can virtually be said to be framed on west and east by two rivers, the Ghis and the Nkur, respectively, although some of Waryagharland in fact extends west of the Ghis. On the north lies the Mediterranean, into which both rivers empty. This northern neck of the sack is made up of the alluvial plain (plus surrounding hillsides) of al-Husaima, which slopes gradually upward toward the south; the heavy bottom end of the sack culminates in the massive mountain knot of the Jbil Hmam, the Mountain of Doves (and doves do abound in it), rising to 1930 meters at its highest point. Here, too, is located the tomb of Sidi Bu Khiyar, a stranger to the tribe, but nonetheless its most important saint, at which an annual tribal pilgrimage is held on the day before the 'Aid l-Kbir.[2]

From the air, Waryagharland and that of its neighbor tribes looks like a crumpled piece of reddish-brown paper, with the crumpling heaviest and highest in the Jbil Hmam, and a slight and slender expanse of green in the northern plain. It is largely denuded of vegetation, and erosion has been extensive. Aith Waryaghar are farmers, and indeed good ones, considering their entirely traditional agricultural techniques; but in no corner of Morocco has the Malthusian law been perhaps so strikingly apparent as in their own. In the past, bloodfeuding tended to keep down the population, and even before the establishment of the protectorate over Morocco, Aith Waryaghar and their neighbors had established a pattern of labor migration to Algeria to work on the farms of French *colons* in the Department of Oran, where they became grape-pickers and "shotgun guards." This labor migration reached its heyday in the late 1940's and early '50's,

[2] Cf. David M. Hart, "An '*Amara* in the Central Rif: the Annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar," *Tamuda*, V. 2, 1957, pp. 239–45. For more generalized ethnographic information, see David M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Waryaghar," *Tamuda*, II, 1, 1954, pp. 51–86, and "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif," *Tamuda*, VI, 2, 1958, pp. 171–237.

but came to an abrupt halt in 1955 with the advent of war in Algeria and the closing of the frontier. Nothing daunted, however, many young Waryaghar of the early 1960's have migrated to France and, even more, to West Germany to work in breweries and automobile assembly plants. The bloodfeuder of yesterday has become the migrant laborer of today.

For those at home, however, unemployment is a crucial problem, and infant mortality has in no way been sufficient to check the population growth. The relationship of the Aith Waryaghar to their land has always been an ambivalent one of love and hate; they never tire, for instance, of telling one, "We are poor and our land is worthless"; but on the other hand, the historical record, to be given cursory examination below, shows that on three separate occasions in the present century alone they have taken violent exception to invasion of their barren and eroded countryside by outsiders. And although they have had no firearms since the Spaniards confiscated them in 1926, the feud is only dormant among them—it is by no means dead. Infrastructures and the basic value-systems embodied in them are notoriously change-resistant; and the dispositions both to violence and to seclusion of their womenfolk, which are such characteristically Mediterranean traits, are high among the Aith Waryaghar.

The Jbil Hmam is claimed by all true Waryaghar as their point of origin; they say that from there they gradually radiated northward to the Mediterranean, and that it is only true Waryaghar clans and lineages which, living in the plain, have "brothers" (i.e., are replicated) in the mountains, and vice versa. As we shall see, the territorial structure of the tribe is a remarkably accurate reflection of this statement. The etymology of the tribal name is unknown to any of its members, probably an indication of tribal antiquity. All that *is* locally known is that the so-called Dahar Waryaghar, or Waryaghar Mountain, is an integral part of the Jbil Hmam (located in the present subclan territory of Aith 'Arus), as is Thawragh (in the subclan territory of Isrihan of the clan of Aith Yusif w-'Ari)—the similarity between the names Thawragh and Waryaghar is often invoked locally;[3] and

[3] *Awragh* (fem. *thawrakhth*) in Rifian means "yellow," but in this particular context such a meaning is either non-suggestive or has been lost.

thus *Aith* Waryaghar are "*the* people" from this particular region.

II. HISTORICAL SKETCH

It will be appropriate to preface the discussion of Waryaghar social and territorial structure with a brief historical summary, insofar as known, for certain points to be made here will have direct repercussions on what is to follow.

Firstly, the name *Aith Waryaghar* is very old indeed. The very first Muslim principality in Morocco was founded in 710 on the banks of the Nkur River in the clan territory of the present Aith Bu 'Ayyash. The town of Nkur which its founders built was completed in 760 and, no doubt not long afterward, its southeast gate (which would today have pointed toward the tribe of Axt Tuzin rather than toward Waryagharland, which is more properly due south and southwest) was labelled, in Arab chronicles, *Bab Bni Waryaghal*. Thus, since its inception, one might say, the tribe has had an Arabic name coexisting with an equivalent to its Rifian Berber one. But the Aith Waryaghar of that day were, in their fastness of the Jbil Hmam, the barbarians at the gates of the City of Nkur, and beyond the mere recording of their name, the medieval Arab chroniclers have nothing whatsoever to say about them. Their name remained, in Berque's phrase, "a pimple on the face of the local landscape."[4] At any rate, the Almoravids under Yusuf ibn Tashfin in 1080 destroyed the Nkur Kingdom for good—two previous attempts having only caused it, phoenix-like, to rise again. After this, one can only assume that the Aith Waryaghar rose and fell with the prevailing tides of Moroccan history as these happened to affect the Rif, a region which was both a backwater and, characteristically, one which only recognized the spiritual (as opposed to the temporal) authority of the Moroccan Sultan. It was *blad s-siba*, land of dissidence, par excellence, even though it had been Islamicized at the virtual dawn of Moroccan Islam. Its tribesmen, it seems safe to surmise, oscillated between feuding and truce-making among themselves

[4] Jacques Berque, "Qu'est-ce c'est une tribu nordafricaine?," *Hommage à*

through the centuries until, at the end of the 19th century, the external pressures of wider politics began to bring them to the attention of both Morocco and Europe.

In the 1890's, the neighbors of Aith Waryaghar to the west, the Ibuqquyen, began to attack Spanish and French steamers passing by the Rifian coast. Official protests were lodged with the sultan of Morocco in Fez by the two governments concerned; and in 1898 a punitive expedition under Bushta l-Baghdadi was sent up from Fez to punish the pirates. He accomplished this task so well that his name is still remembered with horror and hatred in Ibuqquyen; and he was aided and abetted in his undertaking by some of the northern segments of Aith Waryaghar.

After this expedition, however, the Aith Waryaghar went back to their internal feuding for another ten years, when another external event united *all* of them for the first time in their recorded history: the invasion of the Rif by the pretender Bu Ḥmāra ("the man on the 'she donkey'") who in 1906 had set himself up in Qasba Silwan, near Nador, and had gained the support of all the tribes in the Eastern Rif. He then determined, in 1908, to cross the Nkur River and invade Waryagharland, but he made the great tactical error of entrusting this invasion to a Negro general. Not only were all Aith Waryaghar determined to resist this invasion, but they regarded the fact that the army commander was a slave as the ultimate insult; and on September 7 of the same year, they successfully mowed down Bu Ḥmāra's cavalry units as the latter attempted to cross the river below Imzuren. The remainder of the invaders fled east. The corporate tribal action initiated by the Aith Waryaghar (and who were assisted by their southern neighbors of Aith 'Ammarth in this undertaking) was emulated now by all the eastern tribes, who proceeded to attack Bu Ḥmāra's flanks until they drove him out of the Rif entirely.[5]

Aith Waryaghar now thought they were invincible. In this self-revelatory knowledge they returned once more to their own affairs of internal disputation and interminable bloodfeuding. However, the Bu Ḥmāra episode was only a local dress rehearsal

[5] An excellent and detailed account of Bu Ḥmāra's vicissitudes in the Rif may be found in Eduardo Maldonado, *El Rogui*, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1952.

for what was to come thirteen years later. Beginning in 1909, the Spaniards had been gradually moving west into the Rif from Melilla; and the 1912 Protectorate Treaty, which allotted to the Spanish a northern slice of the country, was of course an invitation to them to occupy this region effectively. But, as it turned out, they were not able to do so until 1926.

'ABD AL-KRIM

In 1921, a remarkable man named Si Muhammad bin Si 'Abd al-Krim, from Ajdir of the Waryaghar clan of Aith Yusif w-'Ari, whose father had been a *fqih* or Qur'anic schoolmaster in Ajdir and who himself had been *qaḍi quḍat* ("judge of judges") in Melilla,[6] took it upon himself to organize the Aith Waryaghar and others and to halt forcibly the increasing Spanish threat. He not only was able to obtain the adherence of all of his own tribe to his cause, but he quickly obtained the support of the neighboring Rifian tribes (Ibuqquyen, Thimsaman, Axt Tuzin, Aith 'Ammarth, Igzinnayen, etc.) as well. In July 1921, at Dahar Ubarran, on the tribal border between Thimsaman and Aith Wurishik, he inflicted on the Spanish Army the worst single defeat any colonial army had ever suffered anywhere up to that time—it is significant that Spanish history books tend to skirt the subject of Dahar Ubaran, and merely refer to it as being *de triste memoria.*

This is not the place to go into any more than the briefest possible résumé of 'Abd al-Krim's career, which I hope to discuss in some detail in a forthcoming work. Suffice it to say here that his victory at Dahar Ubarran established his unquestioned ascendancy over the Aith Waryaghar, and in turn their own unquestioned ascendancy over the other tribes of the Rif; for as Waryaghar then put it, the whole Rif has always danced to the sound of the Waryaghar tambourine. 'Abd al-Krim became the head of Dawla, a *Jumhuriya Rifiya,* or "Rifian Republic State," and selected ministers for it mostly from his own kinsmen and

[6] According to some informants 'Abd al-Krim's antecedents three or four generations back may have been *shurfa* or "descendants of the Qaraysh," from the clan of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa in the neighboring tribe of Igzinnayen to the south.

fellow tribesmen.[7] By 1923–25 the Rifian Republic State was at the zenith of its power. Rifian forces overran and took control of all the Ghmara and most of the Jbala to the west; and by the spring of the latter year 'Abd al-Krim, a man who most effectively wielded both the pen and the sword, had begun to challenge the French as well as the Spaniards. For a number of reasons too detailed to go into here, he suddenly moved into and occupied the territories of certain tribes in the southern Jbala, all within the then French Zone, and by the summer of 1925 even Fez was threatened. Marshal Pétain and a huge French Army were hastily dispatched to Morocco to deal with the situation. It was not, however, until after the combined Franco-Spanish operations, leading to the Spanish disembarkation at al-Husaima in the fall and the joint pincer movement the following spring (1926) by both sets of armies, the Spaniards from the north and the French from the south, in which the subjection of Waryagharland was the primary objective, that 'Abd al-Krim capitulated to the French at Targist, May 27, 1926. And in that final month of May, the fighting throughout Waryagharland was extremely heavy. Although their southern neighbors of Igzinnayen finally made the traditional act of submission, *ta'rqiba*, by sacrificing one or more bulls to the French, the Aith Waryaghar did nothing of the sort for the Spaniards; they merely sullenly and resentfully turned over their guns to them.

Since that time 'Abd al-Krim has largely passed out of Waryagharland as such (he died in Cairo on February 6, 1963); but he is very much a legend, and justifiably so, to this day. The changes which he wrought in the Rifian social order were far-reaching. Principal among them were the outlawing of feuds and the extension of the *Shari'a* to all aspects of Rifian legal life. Previously, only land, marriage, and divorce had come under the jurisdiction of tribal judges; anything falling under the rubric of "criminal law" fell under that of the clan or tribal *imgharen*, the council-members of the *aitharba'in*.[8] Under the traditional

[7] This is *not* to be confused with the Rifian term *ripublik*, which means, and very specifically, the period *prior* to 'Abd al-Krim, when bloodfeuding was a dominant activity in the Waryaghar social order.

[8] I believe this term, in the Rif, to be derived from *aith-tarbi'in* (itself from *tharbi'th*, pl. *tharbi'in*, "people"), literally, "people of the people" and hence "representatives of the people," i.e., the governing body and, by

system also, as in most other Berber-speaking regions, the collective oath was the major mode of proof (though it never attained the refinements among Rifians which it did among the transhumant Berbers of Central Morocco).

In a word, 'Abd al-Krim decollectivized oaths, stamped out feuds, and finally Islamicized, remarkably thoroughly, the *qa'ida* (custom) of the Rifian tribes. But, of course, Rifians say that they have always followed the Shari'a and that they have always been the best of Muslims, and that 'Abd al-Krim only made them better ones. This may well have elements of truth, for such assertions are extremely difficult to assess objectively. The fact is, nonetheless, that 'Abd al-Krim had "acculturated" the "Berber" features of the Rifian social system (even though probing of the situation has revealed to me time and again that informants are evasive over the question, for instance, of whether daughters inherit, and how much) to such an extent that the Spanish administration from a *de facto* standpoint merely took over where 'Abd al-Krim left off. There were never any *tribunaux coutumiers* set up in the Rif; and the violent manifestations of Rifian "apartness" from the wider Moroccan society which culminated in the revolt of the Aith Waryaghar against the government of Independent Morocco in 1958–59 were based on essentially the same considerations as the Bu Ḥmāra episode and 'Abd al-Krim's war: that Aith Waryaghar like to be left to their own devices and dividedness, but that this dividedness disappears as though by magic in the face of outside threats or interference.

Aith Waryaghar history thus illustrates a first structural principle: that its members form indeed a single *dhaqbitsh*, a single tribe, if we take the standard anthropological definition of a tribe as the widest politically autonomous unit whose members act corporately within a kinship ideology of membership as our yardstick. It is also, of course, a tribe in a system of tribes, and in its own particular system, it is the dominant tribe. And now so much for history; let us turn to the facts of ethnography.

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implication, government by consent of the governed. I think this etymology fits the facts far more closely than such arbitrary translations as "sons of the forty," forty in itself being a highly arbitrary number (except in the case of the Rgibat; cf. my article, David M. Hart, "The Social Structure of the

III. STRUCTURAL UNITS OF THE AITH WARYAGHAR

1. DESCENT GROUPS

Dhaqbitsh, *khums* (or *dhakhammasth*), *r-rba'*, *dshar*, *dhar-fiqth* and *jajgu* are the Berber labels which, in descending order, Aith Waryaghar give their political, territorial and social units. These units are all interrelated social phenomena; and it is appropriate to realize at the outset that they are anything but conceptually rigid. Though each label has its own more or less exclusive radius of application, they all should properly be considered intercontextually, as referring to parts of a segmentary whole. Each segment of this whole on every level of segmentation, stands of course in the classical position of balance and opposition to other such segments of the same order. It will nonetheless be convenient to employ certain standard terms in the vocabulary of social anthropology to distinguish between certain kinds of segments at different levels. These terms are, primarily, *tribe*, *clan*, *lineage* and *local community;* and, secondarily, *"fifth," subclan* and *sublineage.*

By "tribe" (*dhaqbitsh*, pl. *dhiqbair*), I mean here the totality of Aith Waryaghar, or indeed the totality of any other such ceiling group as locally conceived which forms the highest politically autonomous unit in the region (other examples from the Central Rif are Ibuqquyen, Aith 'Ammarth, Igzinnayen, Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin; and as these all represent locally traditional structures, I refer to them as "tribes" and avoid mention of recently created administrative units which as often as not do not entirely correspond to them). In the Rifian context, as the reader may have surmised from the preceding historical summary, the question of descent, on this tribal level, from a putative common agnatic ancestor is quite irrelevant. The norm for Rifian tribes in general is rather that each tribe is an aggregate formed by a variable number (never more than five, however) of heterogeneous clans.

By "clan" (*ar-rba'*, pl. *r-urbu'*), I designate the largest existing order of segment *within* the tribal framework whose members, by virtue of their clan name, implicitly or explicitly claim

a common agnatic ancestor or a common origin, but who lack or have lost the genealogical knowledge or evidence to support this claim. Thus, in a normal schematization based on levels, if we consider the *tribe* as Level I, the *clan* would be Level II—but alone of all the Rifian tribes, Aith Waryaghar shows certain complications even here, which will be discussed presently.

By "subclan" (also *ar-rba'*, indicating the fluidity of the Rifian terminology), I refer to the segments in turn of a clan segment, whose members are likewise unable to trace their genealogical connections back even to the subclan ancestor or origin. And here, under normal circumstances, we have arrived at Level III. By "lineage" (*dharfiqth*, pl. *dharfiqin*), on the other hand, I mean the largest effective social group whose members *can* and *do* trace their ascent back to a common agnatic founder-ancestor. Here we have arrived at any level from Level IV on up (or down, depending how one looks at it; Rifians invariably start, themselves, from the tribal or clan level and work down toward the small units). And by "sublineage" (*jajgu*, pl. *ijujga*), I mean a branch of such a lineage, generally constituted of the descendants of a single son of the lineage ancestor. Thus, if the effective lineage is at Level IV, the effective sublineage will be at Level V, or if the former is at Level VI, the latter will be at Level VII, and so on. (See Figures 1-1 and 1-2.)

2. LOCAL COMMUNITY: THE DSHAR TERRITORIAL UNIT

It is well to point out here that *each of these units* has its own name and its own territory within the framework of the tribal territory as a whole. Thus by "local community" (*ad-dshar*, pl. *r-udshur*), I refer to the *territorial unit* proper, also with its own name. Generally this is a toponym in the Rif, but anthroponyms are not uncommon, particularly if all lineage groups living in this territory claim descent from a single ancestor, or if, as can happen, one of them is dominant at the expense of the others. This *dshar* or local community (I eschew the term "village" in this Rifian context, even though in the Ghmara and Jbala to the west the same word does refer to true villages) consists in the Rif of widely dispersed individual households "like stars in the sky," as Rifians say. If households are not dispersed individually,

they are grouped together only in minute clusters of two or three. The *dshar* acts as the unit of residence for a given number of *lineage-groups.* As each individual household is separated by at least 300 meters from the next, as was pointed out by Sánchez Pérez,[9] and as each, at any altitude below 1000 meters, is surrounded by barking dogs and an impenetrable clump of cactus (though of course, even though cactus does not grow above this altitude, dogs do), so the distance between one local community and the next is, of course, correspondingly greater. The reason is possibly to maintain seclusion of women—and all Rifians, especially Aith Waryaghar, are extremely jealous of their women, even though the latter seem to play no significant role in the segmentary system now under discussion.

3. THE "FIFTH": KHUMS, THE MAXIMAL POLITICAL UNIT BELOW THE TRIBE

By "fifth"[10] (*khums,* pl. *khmās,* or *dhakhamasth,* pl. *dhikhamasin*), I mean a special recombination, resorted to generally for political ends, of clans with other clans or with other subclans (even though the "fifth" does in some cases coincide with the clan itself) to be discussed below. Not only this unit, but before 'Abd al-Krim's time, Aith Waryaghar had also an extremely active system of mutually hostile dual factions (*liff,* pl. *lfuf*), though this was a consequence rather than a part of the segmentary and territorial system; and it, too, will be discussed later.

IV: ANALYSIS OF THE RELATION OF SEGMENTARY AND TERRITORIAL SYSTEMS

We may now examine the salient features of the segmentary and territorial systems in some detail. An appropriate point of

[9] Andres Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Históricos sobre Ciudades Rifenas," *Selecciones de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el Curso de Interventores 1951–52,* Tetuan, 1952, pp. 29–47, esp. p. 32.

[10] This term has been coined by Carleton S. Coon, *Tribes of the Rif,* Harvard African Studies, IX, Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, 1931, pp. 91–92. I retain it because of its convenience and accuracy, although I do not accept the rest of his social unit terminology.

departure for this is contained in perceptive observation by Robert Montagne:[11]

> "La tribu des Beni Ouriaghel [i.e., Aith Waryaghar], divisée en cinq 'khoms', présente une structure sociale assez compliquée, qui résulte à la jois de l'état de guerre permanent dans lequel vivaient d'habitude des familles et de l'infertilité du sol qui disperse les habitants. Chaque 'khoms' possède un territoire principal en montagne et des enclaves en plaine ou inversement. En outre, les marabouts forment un 'khoms' supplémentaire dispersé dans tout le pays.
>
> "Malgré cette confusion et en dépit de l'hostilité habituelle des groupes familiaux à l'interieur du 'khoms' . . . , les limites de chaque fraction restent parfaitement connues et il arrive fréquemment que les querelles intestines s'apaisent pour permettre à chaque 'khoms' d'entrer en lutte contre le voisin.
>
> "Seuls dans tout le Rif, les Beni Ouriaghel ont des 'khoms' dont le territoire est formé de parcelles séparées. Partout ailleurs, chez les tribus de Mtiwa, Beni Bou Frah, Beni Itteft, Boqqoya, Temsaman, la division en 'khoms', très apparente, découpe le pays en petites unités sensiblement égales en force et en surface, quelles que soient les conditions géographiques de le vie."[12]

Author's translation:

> "The tribe of Bni Waryaghal (= Aith Waryaghar), divided into five *khmas* (sing. *khums*, "fifth"), presents quite a com-

[11] Montagne's fleeting analysis of Rifian social structure, and in particular his labelling of the region as *"le Rif anarchique"* may otherwise be disregarded. The observation cited here is not to be confused with the notion he develops elsewhere, of "organized anarchy" (cf. R. Montagne, *La Vie Sociale et Politique des Berbères*, Paris: Editions du Comité de l'Afrique Française, 1931, p. 74), and which was usefully applied and expanded by Emilio Blanco Izaga for Aith Waryaghar, *Conferencia sobre Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño*, Ms., Decembre 1935.

[12] R. Montagne, *Les Berberes et le Makhzen*, Paris: Alcan, 1930, note 2, pp. 175–76. Montagne's labelling of the clan structure of the other tribes which he mentions in this connection as *khums* is by no means entirely accurate, but this is not the point at issue in the present context.

> plicated social structure, resulting both from the permanent state of war in which its [constituent] 'families' [read *lineages*] usually lived and from the infertility of the soil which brought about the dispersion of its inhabitants. Each *khums* possesses its main territory in the mountains and enclaves in the plain, or vice versa. In addition, the Imrabdhen form a supplementary *khums* dispersed over all the tribal territory.
>
> "Despite this confusion and despite the habitual hostility of the 'family groups' [read *lineages* or *lineage groups*] within the *khums* . . . , the boundaries of each 'fraction' [read *clan* or *subclan*] are perfectly well known, and it frequently happens that internal feuds subside in order to permit each *khums* to enter into a [wider] struggle with a neighboring one.
>
> "Alone in the Rif, the Bni Waryaghal (= Aith Waryaghar) have *khmas*, the territory of which is made up of blocs separated from each other. Everywhere else, among the tribes of Mtiwa, Bni Bu Frah, Bni Yittuft, Buqquya and Thimsaman, the division into *khmas* ['fifths'], very readily discernible, cuts the region up into little units of approximately equal strength and size, whatever the geographic conditions of existence may be."

Now, even though one may justly reproach Montagne for having failed to see the highly segmentary character of Berber social structures—and a character which had, even before E. E. Evans-Pritchard's well-known definition and elucidation of the problem, already been suggested by Emile Durkheim for the Kabyles[13] —the above statement really touches the core of the problem; and a systematic examination of this statement, and of the problems involved, is now in order.

Hence I shall discuss Aith Waryaghar social structure in the light of Montagne's statement, on a point by point basis, taking

[13] Emile Durkheim, *De la Division du Travail Social*, 1893 (1960 Edition), Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960, pp. 150, 152, 153, 157 and 269. I am indebted to Magister Alv Alver for calling my attention to this point. Durkheim's sources were, of course, Hanoteau-Letourneux and Masqueray.

his statement apart, as one would a watch, and then putting it together again.

1. *"La tribu des Beni Ouriaghel . . ." "The tribe of Bni Waryaghal (= Aith Waryaghar) . . ."*

From what I have said previously, the fact that Aith Waryaghar do indeed constitute a tribe should now be self-evident. It is important to note here that under the Spanish protectorate, the tribe was divided, on the suggestion and recommendation of Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga in 1936, into three *qaidates* or territories controlled by a *qaid*. Utac, the northern one, for Aith Yusif w-'Ari and Imrabdhen; Upper Ghis, the southwestern one, for Aith 'Abdallah and Aith Hadhifa; and Nkur, the southeastern one, for Aith Bu 'Ayyash and the mountain subclans of Aith Turirth, Timarzga and Aith 'Arus. The "we-feeling" of the group had become relaxed to the extent that a mountaineer could speak of a lowlander as belonging to *dhaqbitsh n-waddai*, the lower tribe, and the latter could speak of *him* as belonging to *dhaqbitsh n-dara* or *dhaqbitsh n-innij*, the upper tribe (and there were corresponding derogatory nicknames). This administrative *decoupage* has been modified even more since Independence; but the fact that all Aith Waryaghar think of themselves *as* a single tribe, *as* Aith Waryaghar, was amply demonstrated in the 1958–59 revolt. Then, as on previous occasions, when under pressure or threat, it was the traditional structures and not the new administrative ones which were invoked. (Though it may be neither here nor there, I do not feel that the present rural commune system has as yet made much impact on the traditional social structure, or on the thinking behind it, of this tribal group.)

2. *". . . divisée en cinq 'khoms' . . ." ". . . divided into five* khmas [*sing.* khums, *'fifths'*]"

Here we have reached Step I (and in fact Level II) of our discussion of Waryaghar social structure. *"Nishnin zg-Aith Waryaghar gharnagh khams khmas"*—"We of Aith Waryaghar have (i.e., are segmented into) five 'fifths,'" e.g., *khums*, pl. *khmas*, as

indicated above. This is the statement which invariably prefaces an old informant's discussion of tribal segmentation. It indicates three things: (1) the tribe, in this case *in particular,* is divided into five basic units of equal strength, or conceived to be of equal strength, even though sometimes individual informants may differ as to their composition (I give the most reliable version of the system below in Fig. 1-1); (2) each of these *khmas* or "fifths" forms a part (specifically, one-fifth) of the tribal whole, and that the total strength of the "five 'fifths'", expressed here, as in other parts of Berber Morocco, in segmentary terms, is a great source of tribal pride; and, (3) ideally, fines (*r-haqq*) levied by the *imgharen* (sing. *amghar*), or council-members, of the *aitharba'in* at their weekly meeting (*agraw,* pl. *igrawn*) in the market, from a murderer (only if he should commit his murder on market day and either in the market itself or on any path leading to or from it) are equally distributed five ways, among the *imgharen* of each "fifth." Lines of fine-collection and distribution, then, ideally follow those of segmentation; and market-day

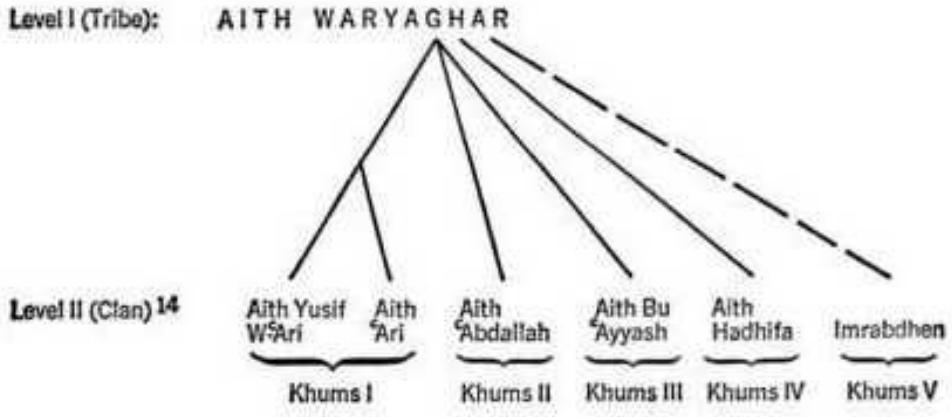

FIGURE 1-1

14 One extremely reliable informant, an old *qaid* who died in 1955, told me that in fact Level II really consists of only two rather than of five subdivisions: *Aith Khattab,* containing (on Level III) the two "fifths" of Aith Yusif w-'Ari/aith 'Ari and Aith 'Abdallah, and *Aith Bu 'Ayyash,* containing (on Level III) those of Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper and Aith Hadhifa. The "holy" "fifth" of Imrabdhen is intrusive, as indicated by the dotted line in the diagram. This creates an intermediate segmentary level between tribe and "fifth" and gives a certain primacy to one or two vague and probably apocryphal origin traditions (such as the claim, supported especially by 'Abd al-Krim himself, that the Aith Khattab are descended from no less a personage than 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, the second of the "rightly guided" caliphs of Islam), but for present purposes it can be disregarded as having no real structural or functional significance.

was the one day of peace during the normal week of violence, murder, and feud. We shall return to this theme further on; but its keynotes of unity through fighting and dividedness through homicide have, I hope, now been established.

3. "*. . . présente une structure sociale assez compliquée . . .*" "*. . . presents quite a complicated social structure . . .*"

Two of these structural complications are already apparent from Fig. 1-1. The first is that, as I have already said, a correspondence exists in the Aith Waryaghar between *khums*, "fifth," and *ar-rbaᶜ*, "clan," but that this correspondence need not necessarily be complete and that two clans may be joined for political or other purposes to form a single "fifth." The case in point here is that *khums I* is formed by the clan of Aith Yusif w-'Ari *and* its brother clan of Aith 'Ari.[15] A further point in this connection is that under the total *liff* alliance system Aith Yusif w-'Ari and Aith 'Ari were also deadly enemies, indicating that the *liff*-structure on the overall levels tends to cross out that of the *khums* structure and the latter, rather, to follow that of the clan segmentation.

The second complication is provided by the presence of the intrusive clan—and "fifth"—of Imrabdhen, to be discussed in point 6 below.

4. "*. . . qui résulte à la fois de l'état de guerre permanent dans lequel vivaient d'habitude les familles*" [*read here* lineages] "*et de l'infertilité du sol qui disperse les habitants.*" "*. . . resulting both from the permanent state of war in which its* [*constituent*] *'families'* [*read* lineages] *usually lived and from the infertility of the soil which brought about the dispersion of its inhabitants.*"

At this point, I have no further comment other than that one could distinguish in fact *two* types of *liff* alliances in Aith Waryaghar and elsewhere in the Rif: (1) the "permanent" type, so to

[15] Tradition holds that Yusif w-'Ari and 'Ari w-'Ari were brothers, though no member of either clan could at the time of my fieldwork trace his descent back to his respective clan ancestor, or, indeed, anywhere near it, which proves the correctness of Coon's assertion to the effect that a "fifth" is bigger than a "fourth" (which is what *ar-rbaᶜ*, of course, literally means).

speak, which split the whole tribe into two hostile factions, and (2) the "temporary" type, operative *within* a clan, a subclan, a local community, or even within a lineage itself, which mirrored the overall tribal *liff* structure on a smaller scale. Ideally, at those times when the permanent, upper-level type division was not invoked, the temporary, lower-level one was in operation, and vice versa. Informants all unanimously say that house-to-house fighting was quite literally the rule (and often they have individual recriminations over this), and given the highly dispersed character of dwellings and of the local communities to which they belong, it is not difficult to see why. Feuds generally begin over women on the one hand or over land and water rights on the other. The endless sequence of "breach-counteraction-breach-counteraction-breach-*ad infinitum*," as Paul Bohannan[16] puts it, may be seen as the result of a number of factors, including pride, poverty, and population pressure. In the highly egalitarian social structure of the Aith Waryaghar, self-help is a first principle.

5. ". . . *Chaque 'khoms' possède un territoire principal en montagne et des enclaves en plaine ou inversement.*" ". . . *Each* khums *possesses its main territory in the mountains and enclaves in the plain, or vice versa.*"

We have now arrived at Step II (and Level III) in the segmentary system of the Aith Waryaghar, which illustrates two other cardinal and complementary principles: those of *territorial discontinuity* and *territorial reduplication* on clan and subclan levels. A perusal of the tribal map will show how this works when the segmentary system (which exists, of course, in temporal rather than spatial terms) is spread out on the ground to become the territorial one; and Fig. 1-2 shows the relationships of the clans and subclans concerned.

Explanations are nonetheless in order. In the clan of Aith Yusif w-'Ari, the subclans Aith Ughir Izan and Isrihan are considered closer kin to each other than either is to Aith Turirth; and hence the dotted line leading to the latter in Fig. 1-2, a diagram based

[16] Paul Bohannan, *Social Anthropology*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963, p. 290.

on the temporal principle of descent. Spread out on the ground of Waryagharland, however, Aith Yusif w-'Ari clan has no less than five separate and discontinuous blocs of territory: (A) a northern one, in which the local communities of Ajdir, Azghar and Izifzafen belong to Aith Ughir Izan, but in which Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Plain (the flat-lying reduplication of Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Mountain) is (though it is actually a stranger lineage) associated with Isrihan, (B) a smaller one to the southwest, Buhám, affiliated with Aith Ughir Izan, but which also contains a lineage called Isrihan n-Buhám, (C) Lower Thamasind, just north of the center of the tribal territory, affiliated with Aith Ughir Izan, (D) the Isrihan bloc on the north slope of the Jbil Hmam, comprising Isrihan Proper, Ikatshumen (or Ikultumen, which is also reduplicated in the Plain), and two stranger communities, the Mountain Aith Mhand u-Yihya and Aghridh, all affiliated with Isrihan, while 'Arnuq is affiliated with Aith Ughir Izan, and (E) *Aith Turirth* in the southeast, in the Jbil Hmam Proper, which consitutes a single and more or less homogeneous entity, even though some of its lineages, one of them a leading one (Imjjat, in l-'Ass, who came from across the tribal border in Igzinnayen), are "foreign."

In the clan of Aith 'Ari, (Fig. 1-2, Khums I) the story is the same, the development is parallel, and there are even more stranger lineages, most of which have come, according to tradition, from other neighboring or nearby Rifian tribes. Its subclans of Tigarth (largely composed of "foreigners"), Imhawren, and Aith r-'Abbas consider themselves closer kin to each other than any of them does to Timarzga; and hence, once again, a dotted line leading to the latter in Fig. 1-2. Once again, also, there are five discrete blocs of territory: (A) a northern one, facing the northern Aith Yusif w-'Ari, in which Tigarth "Proper" is of course affiliated with the subclan of the same name, in which Tafrasth and Imjjudhen (like Imjjat in the preceding paragraph, from Igzinnayen) are affiliated with Imhawren, and Aith Musa w-'Amar (again; mostly "strangers", as this word is locally conceived) with Aith r-'Abbas; (B) Bu Minqad (again, "foreigners"), just north of center with their main local community, though they are in fact reduplicated in not only one but two other spots in the tribal territory, and affiliated with Aith

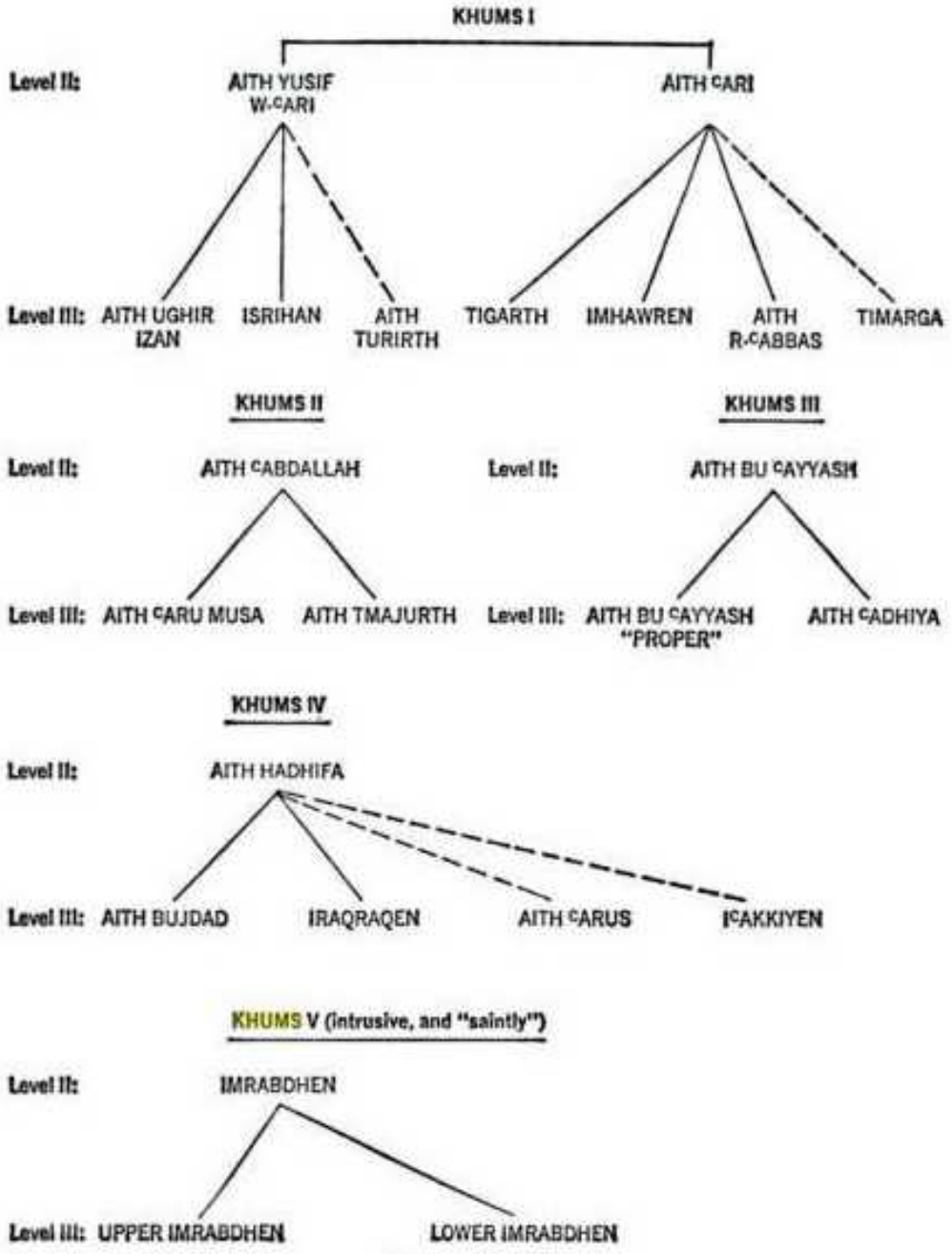

FIGURE 1-2

r-'Abbas; (C) Upper Thamasind, in the virtual center of the tribal territory, and affiliated with Tigarth; (D) Iswiqen (once again, "strangers"), on the northern slope of the Jbil Hmam (but reduplicated in Aith Musa w-'Amar of the plain), and affiliated with Aith r-'Abbas; and (E) Timarzga, forming a solid homogeneous bloc of—for once—entirely local Waryaghar origin, and dispersed around the crest of the Jbil Hmam. And one lineage group, Aith Dawud, though affiliated with or descended from Tigarth, now resides in the clan territory of Aith 'Abdallah.

The clans of Aith Yusif w-'Ari and Aith 'Ari exhibit these features of dispersion and recombination in an extreme form, to be surpassed only by clan Imrabdhen. In the clan (and "fifth") of Aith 'Abdallah (Fig. 1-2, Khums II), the situation is considerably more homogeneous. Most of the western *communities* of this clan, such as Thariwin ("wells"), Aith Zkri (again, "strangers" from Igzinnayen, where they are reduplicated in Thariwin and Izikrithen), Aith Sa'id (from the eastern Rifian tribe of that name), Iqanniyen ("rabbits"), Uqrishen, Imarnison (locals, and not from the Jbalan tribe of Marnisa), and Ikiddaben ("liars"), are affiliated with its subclan of Aith 'Aru Musa; while most of its eastern *communities*, closer to the Jbil Hmam, such as Aith Ziyan, Ibunaharen, Tizi 'Ayyash, Tazaghindi ad-Dahar n-Zimmurth, Aith Dris, Bu Sarah, Bu Zdur, Ihwahwahiyen, Thimkiliwin, Thirkuzin and Marrui (though most of the two last-mentioned communities are again "strangers" from the neighboring tribe of Aith 'Ammarth), are affiliated with its subclan Aith Tmajurth. There is only one small enclave of this clan, I'ayyaden, outside of the main group, and here the affiliation is with the subclan of Aith 'Aru Musa.

The clan (and "fifth") of Aith Bu 'Ayyash (Fig. 1-2, Khums III), the biggest in the tribe (and indeed bigger than many whole tribes elsewhere in the Rif), indicates the same territorial homogeneity as Aith 'Abdallah, but as a "fifth," it shares an important characteristic in common with Aith Yusif w-'Ari. Aith 'Ari (whose alignments in the overall dual faction system were also reflected in the opposition between Aith Turirth and Timarzga): its two subclans of Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" and Aith 'Adhiya were implacably hostile to each other. The dividing line between them on the map is therefore heavy, and intended to show this. Of local communities of this clan, Izakiren (all "foreigners"), Iryanen (partially "foreign"), Aith Tfarwin (entirely local), Isufiyen (entirely "foreign"), Aith Ta'a (entirely local) and Aith Bu Khrif (partially "foreign"), are affiliated with Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper": while Ighmiren (largely "foreign," with discontinuous segments in the mountain and in the plain), Igar w-Anu (largely local), Ajdir Bu Qiyadhen and ar-Rabdha (entirely local), Imnudh, and Aith 'Aisa and Aith Ruqmān of Tuzurakhth (all again largely "foreign") are affiliated with sub-

clan Aith 'Adhiya. Two other local communities which form part of this subclan, Mountain Ighmiren and Igar w-Anu, are separated from its main body, while one lineage, Aith Bū Stta, has even "infiltrated," as it were, into the territory of subclan Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper," into Aith Bu Khrif community. As in Lower Ighmiren and in Ikatshumen of Aith Yusif w-'Ari, this lineage and other lineages in the latter communities claim descent from the Merinids.

The clan (and "fifth")[17] of Aith Hadhifa (Fig. 1-2, Khums IV) is interesting in that it shows both homogeneity and dispersion. The two subclans of Aith Bū Jdāt and Iraqraqen ("frogs") constitute Aith Hadhifa "Proper"; to the first belong the local communities of Bū Jdāt "Proper," Mishkur, Ihadduthen, Bihban and Aghzar 'Aisa; and to the second, Iharunen (reduplicated in Aith 'Arus), Thisimmurin, Bashkra, Yinn 'Amar u-Sa'id, and those lineages in Zawith n-Sidi 'Abd l-Qadir which are not Imrabdhen lineages. All are entirely local in origin. But now, once again, Aith 'Arus and I'akkiyen occupy the same position vis-à-vis Aith Hadhifa "Proper" as do Aith Turirth and Timarzga vis-à-vis Aith Yusif w-'Ari and Aith 'Ari respectively (see Fig. 1-2), with one difference: they were all in the same overall *liff* or faction. I'akkiyen (a community largely made up of tailors and butchers who nonetheless fought hard amongst themselves), who "came from" Aith 'Arus, are even territorially more discontinuous from the latter than the latter in turn are from the mountain Aith Hadhifa, whence they themselves "came." But there are, in Aith 'Arus, only one or two "stranger" lineages; the rest, as perhaps befitting the fact that it is in their territory that the original Waryaghar Mountain is located, are locals. So are most of both Aith Turirth and Timarzga; and it is perhaps in these three mountain subclans which occupy the core of the Jbil Hmam that Waryaghar social structure is most clearly displayed. I have even heard mountaineers from these subclans assert that the "five 'fifths'" of Aith Waryaghar are Aith Turirth, Timarzga, Aith 'Arus, Aith Yusif w-'Ari and Aith 'Ari; when for example one recalls to them the existence of Aith Bu 'Ayyash or Aith 'Abdallah or Aith Hadhifa, they shrug their shoulders and say, "Oh, they are just other ones."

[17] An integral "fifth," and by no means a nominal one, as Coon suggests, *op. cit.*, 1931, p. 106. See Figures 1-1 and 1-2.

At this juncture it will be useful to make a point or two about the names of some of the Waryaghar segments, on various levels. The clan names are all (save Imrabdhen, which is ascriptive of status) names of supposed individual ancestors, to whom, of course, no ascent can in any single case be traced. The same holds true for many, though not all, of the subclan names (Level III); and on this level descriptive or ascriptive names (Aith Ughir Izan, Iraqraqen, Aith 'Arus—the last one, "people of the bridegroom," although Aith 'Arus themselves have no knowledge of why they have their name, nor any legends justifying it; the neighbors of Aith Turirth and Timarzga say they had a Christian ancestress, an allegation they themselves hotly deny—and Timarzga itself, a supposed compound of Arabic *tamar wa zakah*, "dates and alms," with, again, no reason given) and simple toponyms (Tigarth, Aith Tmajurth, Aith Turirth—the last from *dha'rurth*, "hill" in Rifian, hence "people of the hill") creep in. On the level of the local community, however, toponyms predominate over anthroponyms almost at the rate of two to one. As virtually every physical feature or chunk of terrain in Waryagharland has a name, clusters of lineages living in these places are almost automatically called *aith*, "people (of)," followed by the place-name in question. Below this level, when we reach that of the local lineage group, the *dharfiqth*, anthroponyms in which the name of a lineage ancestor who *is* genealogically traceable now start to prevail.

Finally, on the levels of the higher segments, clans and subclans, which we have already discussed, we may note a phenomenon which, borrowing two everyday terms from genetics, I call *dominance and recessiveness.* In this situation, subclan X, for instance, gives its own name to clan A on the next level up, so that the same exists on two levels at once, whereas the name of its brother subclan Y of the same clan A exists only on one level, the lower one. In such a case, subclan X is dominant and Y recessive; and in this way, for example, Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" is dominant over Aith 'Adhiya; Aith Hadhifa "Proper" over Aith Turirth; and Aith 'Ari "Proper" over Timarzga. But it should be added that dominance and recessiveness in this sense are onomastic rather than political; they are by no means necessarily a

reflection of the numerical superiority or superiority in force of arms of the "dominant" clan or subclan concerned. Even so, such is the highly egalitarian and extremely competitive "dog-eat-dog" character of Waryaghar society that the "recessive" subclans have tried in fact to dominate the "dominant" ones, and (of course) the other way around, a fact which is well reflected in the *liff*-system.

All evidence now indicates that Aith Waryaghar originated in the Jbil Hmam and gradually pushed toward the Mediterranean; and the really startling reduplication of local communities from south to north strongly favors this argument. Clans Aith Yusif w-'Ari and Aith 'Ari, both existing in territorial chunks from the southern mountain border to the northern sea border, parallel each other all the way through the tribal area in their territorial organization; clans Aith 'Abdallah and Aith Bu 'Ayyash on the median west and median east, respectively, again show parallels; and in the southwest, clan Aith Hadhifa and their "brothers" of subclan Aith 'Arus in the central Jbil Hmam fill in yet other chinks. It is something of a patchwork quilt, *but not without its own internal order and logic.*

It now remains to fit the Imrabdhen (see Fig. 1-2, Khums), a whole intrusive "fifth," into a picture in which I estimate that some 44 percent of the existing lineage groups are already considered "foreigners," despite generations of local residence and despite the fact that most of them are from tribes neighboring Aith Waryaghar or from other parts of the Rif. In this sense, Aith Waryaghar is almost as purely "Waryaghar" in its present composition as America is Anglo-Saxon! Clans are thoroughly heterogeneous in their total make-up, infiltrated as they are by stranger accretions (a problem to be discussed later, at the level of the local community), and descent from common ancestors must be considered as largely fictive. The anthroponyms of clans and subclans is thus, in the Waryaghar case, primarily a kind of convenience for classificatory purposes; for the heterogeneity of these groupings is undeniable. Rifians like to tag labels onto people and things as much as we do, or more (and preferably derogatory ones); and as the Jbil Hmam *massif* dominates the tribal

area physically, so it does also in contemporary and collective tribal recollections of their ultimate origins.[18]

6. *". . . En outre, les marabouts forment un 'khoms' supplémentaire dispersé dans tout le pays." ". . . In addition, the Imrabdhen form a supplementary* khums *dispersed over all the tribal territory.*

Those whom Montagne labels "marabouts" form, of course, the fifth and final "fifth" of Imrabdhen. As I noted above, this name is one of status-ascription; it is the Rifian form of Arabic *mrabtin*, sing. *mrabit*—but the difference is that in Rifian, *imrabdhen* refers both to *Shurfa* proper and to *mrabtin* indiscriminately, even though Rifians themselves are well aware of the distinction.[19] The "fifth" (and clan) of Imrabdhen is sub-segmented into two territorially (but not genealogically) based subclans, and with the usual territorial discontinuity between them which we may now regard as the Waryaghar norm, Upper Imrabdhen and Lower Imrabdhen (*Imrabdhen n-Dara* and *Imrabdhen n-Waddai*). This territorial, as opposed to genealogical, factor is of course implicit in their names. With Upper Imrabdhen are affiliated the local communities of Aith 'Aziz, Aith r-Qadi, Aith z-Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa and, discontinuous from the bulk of this group, Aith Kammun (located between Aith 'Abdallah and Aith

[18] This is quite apart from the traditions about Early Islamic caliphs and companions of the Prophet in Arabia, which provide locally convenient if somewhat implausible attempts at smokescreens. Apart from 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, mentioned in note 14, the same informant suggested Sidi Hudhaifa al-Yamani as ancestor of Aith Hadhifa, Sidi 'Abdallah ibn Ja'far for Aith 'Abdallah (both of whom actually lived, but were persons who, as Professor Philip Hitti once told me, had no connections with North Africa), and Sidi Ku'aish (probably mythical or nonexistent; no record could be found of him) for Aith Bu 'Ayyash. The Umayyad caliphs Mu'awiya and his son al-Yazid were also suggested by other informants in the Jbil Hmam as the ancestors of Aith Turirth and Timarzga, though perhaps the more local Amrabit Bu M'awiya, buried in the Eastern Rif (Mtalsa) was actually meant. My informants were not entirely sure.

[19] The major difference between these two categories of saintly personages is one of descent. *Shurfa* (sing. *sharif*) are descendants of the Prophet or are at least locally held to be so, whereas *mrabtin* acquire saintliness through the performance of miracles or even merely good works (although of course *shurfa* "proper" can and indeed do increase their local reputations by doing the same).

Hadhifa), Izarruqen and Bu Ghardain ("the possessor of rats"—the latter is within Aith 'Abdallah and the former on its northern border), and the Imrabdhen lineages of Aith z-Zawith n-Sidi 'Abd l-Qadar (between Aith Hadhifa and Timarzga, in the southwestern Jbil Hmam). Affiliated with Lower Imrabdhen, those communities of Aith Brahim, Igarrudhen, Aith z-Zawith n-Sidi Yusif (called the "lower *zawiya*" as opposed to Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa, the "upper *zawiya*," even though Waryagharland contains no real *zawiyas* which function as such, in the true sense of the word, as a lodge of a religious brotherhood), Aith Misa'ud, Aith 'Amar u-Sha'ib, Ifasiyen ("those of Fez"), Idardushen, Aith 'Amar u-Bukar, and the Imrabdhen of Aith Hishim (of which the Iziqqiwen, descended from Sidi Mhand u-Musa who is buried there, and containing branches at Swani, on the Mediterranean beach, and at Tashtiwin of Aith 'Abdallah, are the most important), and of Aith Qamra.

But above and beyond these two subclans, there are little pockets of Imrabdhen, some affiliated with the one subclan and some with the other, scattered over the length and breadth of Waryagharland and even beyond (Aith 'Aziz, for example, have a branch in Tamjund of the Asht 'Asim clan of Igzinnayen, and Ifasiyen have one in Ighshamen of the Truguth clan in Thimsaman). The most important of these little pockets are the Dharwa n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud, descended from Aith Kammun, found in community Aith 'Aru Musa of subclan Aith Turirth, the Imrabdhen of Marrui in Aith 'Abdallah (affiliated with Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa), those of Iqanniyen in the same clan (affiliated with Aith 'Amar u-Bukar), those of Zawith n-Sidi 'Abd l-Qadar, and the Izziqiwen n-Sidi Mhand u-Musa, mentioned above.

Genealogically, these Imrabdhen claim to be Idrisid *shurfa*, and trace their descent back to the Prophet's daughter Fatima through Mulay 'Abd as-Slam bin Mshish (d. 1227–28, and buried in Bni 'Arus in the Jbala) and through Sultans Mulay Idris I and II. Their point of definition (as opposed to their actual point of fission) in the overall genealogy of *shurfa* in general[20] occurs at a point 27 generations down from the Prophet with a certain Sidi

[20] Cf. Georges Drague, *Esquisse d'Histoire Religieuse du Maroc*, Cahiers de l'Afrique et l'Asie, II, Paris: Peyronnet, 1951, genealogical charts, nos. 1 and 2.

Ibrahim al-A'raj, "the Lame," who, according to the *Maqsad* of 'Abd al-Haqq al-Badisi[21] came from the clan of "Banu Yammalak" (now nonexistent) "in the tribe of Banu Waryaghal," who died in Fez in 1284–85, and was buried there beside the Bab l-Gisa[22] and whom tradition indicates as being the first of the Waryaghar Imrabdhen. The point of fission of the Imrabdhen, however, only came eight generations later (and 35 generations from the Prophet) with Sidi 'Abd al-Krim ibn Aidi 'Abd al-Aziz, from whose two sons Sidi Ya'qub and Sidi 'Aisa all present-day Imrabdhen are descended. Only those at Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa and the descendants of Sidi Hmid Marrui (in Aith 'Abdallah) are descended from Sidi Ya'qub; all the rest are descended from Sidi 'Aisa, who is buried in the *zawiya* which bears his name. And thus the genealogical record completely cross-cuts the territorial distribution.

This genealogical record, as I pieced it together, is remarkably good and remarkably consistent; but genealogy is not history, and a genealogical charter is not a historical document. Genealogies can only be employed in the reconstruction of historical time-spans if there is corroborative evidence from other fields. And as to Moroccan "saintly" or "holy" genealogies in particular, they are really rather the validation of the saintly status of a given "holy" clan or "holy" lineage existing at present, through genealogical linkage with the Moroccan and even generalized Islamic cultural past (to use Peters' term).[23] In the process of essentially oral transmission of events of "who begat whom," any given event, if agreed upon (informally) as important by those concerned, will be remembered, while others will be forgotten. The result is that, in just the same way that "history," in this

[21] *Al-Maqsad ash-Sharif, wa l-Manza' l-Latif, fi dhikr sulaha r-Rif* (Vie des Saints du Rif), trans. by G. S. Colin, *Archives Marocaines*, vol. XXVI, Paris: Honoré Champion, 1926.

[22] My own records, however, despite these dates, show a difference of eight generations between Mulay 'Abd s-Slam b. Mashish and Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj.

[23] Emrys L. Peters, "Aspects of Rank and Status among Muslims in a Lebanese Village," in Julian Pitt-Rivers, ed., *Mediterranean Countrymen*, The Hague: Mouton, 1963, pp. 159–200. [Reprinted as Chapter 2 following.] The Waryaghar Imrabdhen—or at least a small but very significant percentage of them—are quite similar to Peters' "Keepers of the Culture" in Shi'a villages in Lebanon.

sense, becomes "telescoped,"[24] as it were, genealogies are equally liable to undergo the same foreshortening through time, a foreshortening which also tends to occur at precisely those points in the genealogy which have the least structural relevance.

I do not argue for the consistency here of the Imrabdhen genealogy, as there is not the space to do so; I simply state it as a fact. Even so, in terms of calculation of elapsed generations, from the Prophet to the present day, it appears a good two centuries too shallow; but for anyone to surmise on such ground that it is false is for him to misunderstand completely the nature of the problem. This resides in the manifest or latent acceptance of *imrabdhen*, of holy men, *as* such, *by* the *lay* (tribal) populations which surround them. As Gellner[25] has suggested, *Vox Dei* is in reality *Vox Populi;* and the bulk of the other four "fifths" of Aith Waryaghar do indeed, in one way or another, consider the Imrabdhen as somewhat apart from themselves.

There are, however, certain objections to the claim of the Imrabdhen to a holy genealogy, and these are particularly interesting in that they are all *extra*-genealogical (for the claim of the Imrabdhen *to* a "holy" genealogy is in fact integrally supported *by* that genealogy). These objections are six in number. (1) One is that it is in the *Maqsad* (see footnote 21) that only one of the Rifian saints mentioned in the work—and *not* Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj—was a real and proper *sharif*. (2) There is the question of separating the sheep from the goats and the undeniable fact that some (a small percentage) of the Imrabdhen are certainly "holier" than the rest. (3) Although the Aith Waryaghar Imrabdhen *say* that they have a right to their share of the proceeds from the *sunduq* or box of Mulay Idris in Fez every year, they in fact never—and unlike "true" *shurfa* (such as the Shurfa n-Sidi Hand u-Musa of the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, the neighbor tribe in Igzinnayen)—exercise this right; in the light of this their excuse that "Fez is too far away" appears somewhat lame! (4) There is

[24] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, pp. 199–200. The Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1940.

[25] Ernest Gellner, "Concepts and Society," *Transactions of the Fifth World Congress of Sociology*, Washington, D.C., vol. I, 1962, pp. 153–83. Gellner's data are derived from the Ihansalen of the Central High Atlas, but the concept behind them is valid for our Imrabdhen as well.

a very interesting sultan's *dahir*, cited by Maldonado[26] and dated 1771–72, which exempts them (and the rest of Aith Waryaghar) from payment of taxes to the central government, which legitimizes their descent, as it were, by sign and seal, from Sidi Ibrahim al-Aʿraj, and which implicitly urges the surrounding populations to treat them as *shurfa* (an implication, if one reads between the lines, that possibly some of them are only *mrabtin* and that possibly parts of the genealogy have been cleverly faked –though I doubt this). (5) With a few exceptions,[27] there is a very marked lack of mythology about individual saints among the Waryaghar Imrabdhen, and there is only a very generalized collective group tradition concerning Sidi Ibrahim al-Aʿraj, Sidi ʿAbd al-Krim and the group's installation in Waryagharland. Most genuine *shurfa* are surrounded with a welter of traditions regarding their abilities at curing, miracle-working and the like. (6) Finally there is the fact that the most important saint of the tribe, Side Bu Khiyar, is not one of the Waryaghar Imrabdhen

[26] Eduardo Maldonado (pseud. Et-Tabyi), "Los de Imerabten," in his *Retazos de Historia Marroquí*, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1955, pp. 65–70.

[27] One of these is Sidi Mhand u-Musa, who died in 1838–39 in Aith Hishim where he is buried in the so-called "Hillock of the Saints" (according to information I received from a *fqih* of his lineage). He is credited with (a) having mounted the Waryaghar guard on the mainland against the Spaniards who since 1673 had occupied the Island of al-Husaima in the bay of the same name (though Sánchez Pérez, *op. cit.*, 1952, says rather that the guard was mounted from the time of Spanish arrival and persisted until the surrender of ʿAbd al-Krim!), (b) with the ability of being in two places at the same time, and (c) with having miraculously caused a heavy rain to reroute the course of the Nkur River in Waryaghar favor at the expense of Axt Tuzin, after a boundary dispute between the two tribes (the river then as now having formed the boundary), and to have bested the Axt Tuzin saint Sidi Bu Jiddain in this dispute. This last is a beautiful example of an "effective" saint's dual role as adjudicator and miracle-worker! (cf. an unsigned Spanish administrative report, 1944).

Another such saint was Sidi ʿAbd r-Qadar Agnaw, the ancestor of the lineages of Zawith n-Sidi ʿAbd r-Qadar, who was, as indicated by his name, deaf-and-dumb, and who through leading an exemplary life was given the gift of speech by God a year before his death (cf. Isaías Rodríguez Padilla, *Cofradías Religiosas en el Rif*, Ceuta, 1930, p. 35). And Sidi Hmid Marrui could walk on water. And Sidi Muhand n-Sidi r-Hajj Misaʿud, in Aith Turirth, once flew to Mecca at the time of the pilgrimage and returned home in the same day, accompanied by Sidi Bu Khiyar and the Igzinnayer saint Sidi Hand u-Musa; they were seen performing their sacrifices at ʿArafat, but nobody saw them in flight!

at all, but came, it is said, from Tlemcen in Algeria (where, Rifians say, the real *awliya* or miracle-working saints all came from).

There is not the space here to consider all these arguments in detail, but some of them can be briefly touched upon. The first objection with regard to the *Maqsad* is not relevant for present purposes, but the second one is. One criterion for approaching the "sheep-goat" distinction is to discover which Imrabdhen, out of all of them, are addressed as *Sidi* ("My Lord," or perhaps, "Sir"), which as *Si* ("Mr.," and generally a title accorded a *fqih* or anyone who is literate in Arabic), or merely by their names, without any title. These last, the rank and file of Imrabdhen (what Gellner[28] has termed "latent" as opposed to "effective" saints), form the great majority of Imrabdhen clansmen, probably over ninety percent. They dress, look, and act like any other Waryaghar; and they fought like them as well, and savagely, though generally among themselves rather than with the other clans or "fifths." In the overall *liff*-system, however, Imrabdhen was allied to Aith Yusif w-'Ari, for Sidi Mhand u-Musa had married a daughter of one of the major *imgharen* (councillors) of the latter clan, or so legend has it. The *Si*-group are the intermediates, and the *Sidi*-group contains the "effective" core (which is still a small portion of *them!*): those who possess *r-baraka*, the God-given power to work miracles for the benefit of their fellow men, and the charisma which derives therefrom.[29] Today there is perhaps only one man left who is considered to possess these traits, of the lineage of Dharwa n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud resident in Aith Turirth; the Sidi-group also adjudicate interclan or interlineage disputes; they are exemplary in their observance of religious ritual; they are almost invariably endogamous in their marriage patterns; and they invariably wear white robes and turbans. Not only this; the pattern (at least among the Dharwa n-Sidi r-Hajj

[28] E. Gellner, "Saints of the Atlas," in Pitt-Rivers, *op. cit.*, pp. 145–57. [Reprinted at Chapter II, Vol. I, *Peoples and Cultures of the Middle East*.]

[29] I employ the Rifian version of the Arabic definite article here, for to say simply *baraka* would only imply the Moroccan Arabic (and Berber) word for "enough!" Gellner discusses the subject briefly but well in his 1962 paper, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–81; but the classic discussion remains that of Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, 2 vols., London: Macmillan, 1926, vol. I, pp. 235–61, on which nobody has yet improved.

Misa'ud, and in other "core" lineages as well) shows a distinctive division of labor and of power. No two such saints living at the same time possess *r-baraka;* in the same lineage, only one has it at a time; if one saint has *r-baraka,* another, generally lesser one (often his brother) acts as adjudicator in disputes. Ideally, the true *r-baraka*-possessor is freed from all worldly considerations; he stays at home, prays, fasts over and above Ramadan if necessary, performs his miraculous deeds and is in fact rarely seen by the rank and file, while his adjudicator brother settles disputes, always feeds and gives tea to those who come to see him, and acts as mediator between the lay public and his holier brother. (Of the two principal sons of Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud, for instance, Sidi Muhand was the *r-baraka*-holder, while his brother Sidi Hmid acted as the top *amghar* of all Aith Turirth, and received one-fifth of the market fine in a murder case, all for himself. In other markets, too, it was usual to so compensate the core group of Imrabdhen in such a case.)

If, however, *r-baraka* is only held by one member of a holy lineage at a time, while his brother or agnate (in true Islamic fashion of non-dissolution of state and church) arranges disputes, treats for peace after intra-tribal feuds, and is in effect remunerated for these services, how does the selection of individuals who possess *r-baraka* occur, and how is *r-baraka* transmitted? Waryaghar, of course, say that only God knows on whom He will confer *r-baraka;* but the fact of the matter is that the neighboring lay tribesmen are very influential in the question of *r-baraka* attribution. It is really *they* who say just which saint has it and which one has not. Not only this, but among the Dharwa n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud mentioned above, the same laymen unfailingly—and possibly without their own conscious knowledge—plotted a course of primogeniture in the inheritance of *r-baraka* in this particular lineage. In other lineages (Iziqqiwen, the descendants of Sidi Mhand u-Musa, for example) the transmission of *r-baraka* may skip around, from one saint to his brother, perhaps, and then to one of the latter's sons. Michaux-Bellaire has documented the same phenomenon for the Shurfa of Wazzan.[30]

[30] E. Michaux-Bellaire, *Villes et Tribus du Maroc,* tome IV: *Rabat et sa Région: Le Gharb (les Djebala),* Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1918, pp. 236–54, plus accompanying genealogies facing p. 254 and showing accompanying

When, in earlier contexts, I have spoken of "important" lineages of Imrabdhen, I have meant of course precisely these core lineages of the *Sidi*-category. I wish at this point only to introduce one further concept: that of *awliya* (sing. *wali*). These are a special category of saints, whether recruited from the ranks of *shurfa* or *mrabtin*, who possess *r-baraka* in abundance; they are, or were (for unlike the other kinds of saints, there are no living ones), all *ipso facto* miracle-workers and totally un-political and they represent the apex of Rifian hagiolatry. I mention them because of the Waryaghar Imrabdhen, perhaps only Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud and his son Sidi Muhand (and *not* the adjudicating son Sidi Hmid) fall into this category, as do the stranger Sidi Bu Khiyar and the neighboring *wali* in Igzinnayen, Sidi Hand u-Musa.

To conclude this section: Sidi Bu Khiyar, the stranger but yet the most important saint in the tribal territory (to whose tomb an annual *'amara* is made on the day before the 'Aid l-Kbir, as I have said) is recognized as a real *sharif* and a real *wali*, as is Sidi Hand u-Musa in Igzinnayen (as differentiated from Sidi Mhand u-Musa in Aith Hishim). Sidi Bu Khiyar died without issue; but the descendants of Sidi Hand u-Musa, the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa (from whom 'Abd al-Krim may himself have been descended, though he is everywhere recognized as a fighter rather than as a holy man), automatically receive their share, annually, of the proceeds of Mulay Idris' "box" in Fez. The Imrabdhen of Aith Waryaghar, however, despite their impeccable genealogy, do not; rather, they collect annual *ziyara* or offerings from the surrounding lay "fifths" (and in Rifian opinion, only *imrabdhen* ask for *ziyara*, while true *shurfa* do not). Furthermore, despite the impeccability of their genealogy, they needed a sultan's *dahir*

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passage of *r-baraka*. In the case of the Iziqqiwen of Aith Hishim, the descendants of Sidi Mhand u-Musa, according to my notes, *r-baraka* passed from Sidi Mhand himself to his grandson Sidi Misa'ud n-Siddiq, and then to the latter's son Sidi Hmid Bu Rjila. From this point, according to my informant, it reverted back to Sidi Hmid Bu Rjila's paternal uncle Sidi 'Abdssram, and from him down to his own son Sidi Muhand, to the latter's eldest son Sidi r-Hajj 'Amar (a qaid of Imrabdhen under Sultan Mulay 'Abd al-'Aziz), and then to *his* eldest son Sidi Muhand. As the last-mentioned Sidi Muhand was the elder brother of my informant himself, there may well have been a certain degree of self-interest here in arrogation of claims to "holiness"—but the Wazzan data show an equal degree of "leap-frogging."

to secure them in their position and to legitimize it. Why was this the case? Because, in the last analysis, the selection and election of saints depends upon the laymen who surround them; and in this case, the lay Waryaghar rationalized the situation to the point that the bulk of the Imrabdhen in their midst came to be regarded as collateral Idrisid nobodies. The fact, too, that they were homegrown further depreciated their value. They had a genealogy, but they lacked supporting traditions; and with only a certain very few exceptions (all, of course, supported by lay public opinion), they did not "make the grade."

7. "*Malgré cette confusion et en dépit de l'hostilité habituelle des groupes familiaux* [*read* lineages *or* lineage-groups] *à l'interieur du 'khoms' . . . , les limites de chaque fraction* [*read* clan *or* subclan] *restent parfaitement connues . . .*" *Author's translation: "Despite this confusion and despite the habitual hostility of the 'family groups'* [*read* lineages *or* lineage-groups] *within the* khums . . . , *the boundaries of each 'fraction'* [*read* clan *or* subclan] *are perfectly well known . . .*"

To illustrate this point, we may return to a theme briefly discussed earlier, in Point 2: *the division of tribal fines* (*r-haqq*). Prior to the Spanish occupation, Aith Waryaghar had what may be considered a central market, held on Sundays at Thisar (since then it has changed to Sundays at Thamasind, and has greatly dwindled in size and importance) in the exact center of the tribal territory. This market may not necessarily have been larger than some of the other major clan-level markets (such as Mondays at Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Aith Hadhifa, Wednesdays at Aith Turirth, and Saturdays at Imzuren), but it purported, at least, and given its size and central location, to serve the whole tribe. Council-members from every "fifth," clan and subclan generally attended the large weekly meeting, the *agraw*, of the *aitharba'in*, ("representatives of the people," or council) which was held under a large tree just off the market precincts, with the councillors sitting in an inner circle, and the Waryaghar at large, the *jma'th*, the "people," in an outer circle surrounding them.

And so it was that if one man should kill another on a path leading to or from this market, on market day (and in some

markets the taboo on murder extended to the day immediately preceding market day and to that immediately following it), he had to pay, in money and/or in kind, the sum, crushingly prohibitive at the time, of 1000 duros hasani[31] to the assembled *imgharen*. Not only this, but the fine was doubled to 2000 duros hasani should the homicide be committed in the market itself, a fact which inevitably "broke" the market for that day. If the murderer could not pay this fine, the *imgharen* would exact it by descending on his house in a body, by burning it and his fruit trees down to the ground, and by making off with his livestock.

The murderer would of course almost never be present to witness this, for the council-members would in fact and in such a manner exact the fine from his agnates. If A had killed B, he had to flee immediately afterward as *adhrib* (from Ar. *tlib*, "enemy") to the territory of another clan, or preferably, that of another tribe entirely (a Waryaghar murderer might thus flee to Aith 'Ammarth or Igzinnayen, and vice versa), where he would be received at once upon his declaration of what he had done. The normal ritual was for an escaped murderer to go into a house in the new tribe, one where he was morally certain of being well-received, and to put his hand on the handmill. By so doing he ensured asylum for himself by putting himself under the protection of his host's wife, and by thus becoming *istihurm* ("seeker of refuge").

A murderer, however, had to flee alone, leaving his family and property behind; and both his victim's agnates and the council-members of Aith Waryaghar would naturally be gunning for him (the former, of course, more than the latter, unless one of the latter happened by chance to be a member of the former group). Thus it was up to the murderer's own agnates to make arrange-

[31] The problem of currency translation into modern terms here carries some pitfalls. A *duro* in Spanish is five pesetas, today, and implies a multiple of five, as does in fact the old Moroccan *duro hasani* and the present notion of *riyal;* but it goes further than this. The pre-protectorate duro hasani was in fact not five but fifty pesetas, as translated into the Spanish currency of the early and mid-1950's. Thus one thousand duros hasani was the equivalent of 50,000 Spanish pesetas (and 5000 Moroccan dirhams at the present time), and two thousand duros hasani, 100,000 Spanish pesetas (and 10,000 present-day Moroccan dirhams). The sum was one which, at the time, was effectively gauged to clean out the resources not only of one man but of all his lineage-mates as well.

ments for payment of *r-haqq* to the council-members, and for payment of bloodwit (*d-diyith*, a variable sum ranging from 100 to 2000 or more duros hasani, in contrast to the *haqq*, which was always fixed), to the agnates of the dead man, should, of course, (and this was not often), the latter be inclined to accept it.

There was no fixed time that a murderer should stay away from home, but it had to be a year, and generally two years, at the very least, to allow for passion and rage to subside somewhat. If the dead man's agnates became inclined to settle for bloodwit, those of the murderer went to them, accompanied by an *amrabit* (sing. of *imrabdhen*) or the *fqih* or schoolmaster of the local mosque, and sacrificed a goat. After all present had partaken of the sacrificial meal, the *amrabit* or *fqih* would open the peace negotiations. And only after all the money had been paid, both fines and bloodwit, to those parties reclaiming it, could a murderer return home. If not, he had to stay in exile for the rest of his life, and in such a case he generally married or re-married into the tribe in which he had sought refuge.

The reason for such a heavy fine was that market day was a day of peace (*s-sulh*); and the interest of the fine itself lay not only in that it acted as a deterrent to would-be murderers on market day (although there was no question whatsoever of paying it on any other day of the week, when it was literally "open season" for everybody on everybody else, and *la chasse a l'homme* almost literally occurred as part of the daily routine—in several corners of Waryagharland at once!), but in the fact that its division and redistribution followed and reinforced the segmentary system. Although an occasion in which *all* the subclan and clan councillors actually participated in *r-haqq*-collection and division (and it is interesting to note that any clan whose councillors failed to turn up or were late was automatically excluded from participation) was probably quite rare, given the discontinuous territorial system and the extent of the tribal area in general, the overall distribution (perhaps a somewhat theoretical one) was as follows:

The fine was divided into five equal parts, one for each "fifth" of the tribe. After this initial division had been made, Aith Yusif w-'Ari and Aith 'Ari (Fig. 1-2, Khums I) then split their joint share of one-fifth of the total in half, with one-half for each of

them. Of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari share, one-fifth, in turn, taken off the top, went to subclan Aith Turirth, and the remainder was then split in half again for Aith Ughir Izan and Isrihan; and from this point on down, each subclan divided its own share among its own council-members in proportion to their own strength and to that of the local communities which they represented. The same was true for Aith 'Ari: one-fifth, first, for Timarzga, and then the remainder into three equal parts for the three remaining subclans. Aith 'Abdallah split their share in half, for their two subclans, as did Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Imrabdhen for theirs, while Aith Hadhifa gave one-third off the top to Aith 'Arus and I'akkiyen (of which two-thirds, in turn, for Aith 'Arus and one-third for I'akkiyen), and then divided the rest in half between their own two subclans proper.

The completely egalitarian aspects of this distribution of fines are obvious, but, even so, it was quite normal for a given *amghar* (sing. of *imgharen*) to try to claim more than his allotted share at the expense of, say, those lower-rung council-members at the level of the local community whose reputations for strength were not sufficient to enable them to obtain a place in the *aitharba'in* at clan level. Even so, by the time the fine had reached these ultimate stages of distribution, the amount which each individual councillor received was very little; and a notation (regarding Aith 'Ari) which I have seen in an unsigned Spanish administrative report for 1928 to the effect that at the lowest levels, if there was not enough money to go around evenly, matches were bought, and the matches then were divided up, may be apocryphal—but it has a genuinely and authentically egalitarian ring.

Far more common, however, was for the division of fines to be operative at the clan and subclan level, and the *r-haqq nj-suq*, the market fine, at the Wednesday Market of Aith Turirth furnishes a typical example. It, too, was divided into five equal parts, but their distribution was very different from that given above. One-fifth, in its entirety, went to Sidi Hmud n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud, the adjudicating brother of the *r-baraka*-possessing Sidi Muhand n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud mentioned in Point 6; for Sidi Hmid was the *amghar amqqran*, the top *amghar*, of the region. (He used, I was told, to practice every summer, at harvest time, what was known as *r-'aiwad nj-urbu'*, in which he travelled

around his constituent communities to put a ban on feuding, announced publicly by the market-crier on the following Wednesday, while the harvest was being brought in. He also collected his annual *ziyara*—Rifian *z-ziyarth*—at the same time, as well. . . . And in other Waryaghar markets, too, it was normal for the most distinguished member of the locally "core" Imrabdhen lineage to receive a portion from the top of the market fine.) The second fifth went to subclan Aith Turirth, the third fifth to subclan Aith 'Arus, the fourth to Aith Bu Khrif of Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper," and the final one to the neighboring clan (Axt Tsafth) of the tribe of Axt Tuzin, from whom the market site had originally been more or less usurped. These subclans are all regular constituents of the market in question. But Timarzga, who are also constituents, were excluded as, through the affinal ties of one of their more important council-members, they collected one-fourth of the *r-haqq* in a small neighboring market in the tribe of Igzinnayen. (Typically, however, they say that they had a right to one-fifth of the share at the Wednesday Market at Turirth, and that Axt Tuzin did not; and in any case, it is clear that the fifth which the latter received was merely as a recognition of their claims.)

What was lost on the swings was gained on the roundabouts, as it were; and as virtually every clan in Waryagharland had and has its own market (quite apart from the five special women's markets which it still has, to which men are rigorously forbidden access, and which are essentially a function of the extreme degree of sex-segregation which obtains here more than in any other corner of Morocco)[32] the councillors who normally at-

[32] A. Sánchez Pérez, "Zocos de Mujeres en Beni Uriaguel," *Africa*, Madrid, Mayo 1943, pp. 22–23, advances the theory that these grew up because, as a result of incessant feuding, only women, theoretically exempt from feuds, could carry on peaceful commercial exchange; and André Adam (personal communication, February 2, 1965) thinks that as *some* women, each week, are menstruating and hence are impure from a ritual standpoint, the reason is to be found here. This, he thinks, is true even today, despite the fact that a degeneration of custom has set in and that old women as well as poor ones of any age may be seen at men's markets. Adam's theory is based on the former existence of women's markets in the Sus.

Sánchez Pérez' idea is ingenious but wrong; for no matter how hot any feud became, there was always the sanction of *r-haqq* fines present to deter murder in a market attended by men (not that it always did so, by any

tended these quite naturally received most of their remunerations from them. And *r-haqq* and its distribution, expressed in monetary as well as in fractional terms,[33] was a revalidation of the segmentary system and an integral expression of the localized clan limits to which Montagne refers.

8. *". . . et il arrive fréquemment que les querelles intestines s'apaisent pour permettre à chaque 'khoms' d'entrer en lutte contre le voisin." Author's translation: ". . . and it frequently happens that internal feuds subside in order to permit each* khums *to enter into a [wider] struggle with a neighboring one."*

And here, once again, we return to the question of the *liff*-alliance system of mutually hostile factions briefly discussed in Point 4.

Montagne misunderstood how this worked in Northern Morocco, and the chessboard-like features of his Ghmara-Sinhaja *liff*-map (Montagne; 1930, facing p. 208), representing a virtually mythological war in which all the tribes of the north were "supposed" to have been involved, on one or the other side, ill accords with his far more accurate statement as given above. It is indeed ironical that the accuracy of the footnote presently commented upon is so great while the text of Montagne's work abounds in errors (at least regarding the Rif, for I am in no position to comment, except for certain reservations of judgment, on the sum total of his achievement—and it was a considerable one—on the

means!). It is also of interest to note that in Waryagharland, women's markets exist only in the plain and in the median mountains; there are none in the Jbil Hmam, and there never have been. Here the usual segregation and dichotomy between the sexes is perhaps even stronger and more obvious than elsewhere; and the highlanders, who keep their women rigidly shut in, look upon the existence of women's markets in the lowlands sneeringly and as a sign of weakness. I was told that a generation ago no women *ever* attended the Wednesday Market of Aith Turirth.

There is one surviving women's market in Thimsaman, but it is just across the Nkur River from the Waryaghar border, and its establishment there may hence have been Waryaghar-influenced. Igzinnayen and Aith 'Ammarth are said to have had women's markets in the days before 'Abd al-Krim, but neither tribe has them today.

[33] Fines in the Rif have always been expressed in money, never in sheep, as among Atlas Berbers. And by "fractional," I mean literally that, and not *fraction* as the French use it to describe upper-level tribal segments.

Western High Atlas, the Sus, and the Anti-Atlas with which by far the greater part of his book deals). Even though Robert Montagne and the problems which he did his best to confront may both be "out of fashion" today, I only wish to show here that his quick and footnoted interpolation of Aith Waryaghar social structure was an excellent overall gauge of the situation; and I now continue to discuss it, after pausing only to agree with Gellner that Montagne's work represents one of the two high water marks of French protectorate sociology in tribal Morocco (though I would also add the work of Michaux-Bellaire to the list).[34]

The overall, "permanent" *liff*-structure in Waryagharland, that which was invariably invoked in the event of a full-scale tribal conflagration, represents, as informants have described it, an extremely interesting consequence of both the segmentary system and the territorial system—but it is not a part of either. I give it below, in Table 1, under the headings of Faction A and Faction B.

TABLE I

	Faction A	*Faction B*
Within *Aith Waryaghar*:	AITH YUSIF W-'ARI AITH TURIRTH AITH HADHIFA "PROPER" AITH 'ARUS I'AKKIYEN AITH BU 'AYYASH "PROPER" IMRABDHEN	AITH 'ARI TIMARZGA AITH 'ABDALLAH AITH 'ADHIYA
Outside *Aith Waryaghar*:	AITH 'AMMARTKH clan of IJA'UNEN	THIMSAMAN: clan of TRUGUTH AXT TUZIN: clan of AXT 'AKKI IBBUQUYEN: clan of IZIMMUREN

[34] The other such water mark, of a very different kind, in terms of the problems dealt with (although the region itself is one of those discussed by Montagne) is Jacques Berque, *Structures Sociales du Haut Atlas*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955. Cf. the dual review of both Montagne's and Berque's works by Ernest Gellner, "The Far West of Islam," *British Journal of Sociology*, 1958. A complete bibliography of the voluminous output of Edouard Michaux-Bellaire is given in R. Gerofi, "Michaux-Bellaire," *Tingu: Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Tanger*, No. 1, 1953, pp. 79–85.

Several points emerge here. First of all, if we compare this information with that given in Figs. 1-1 and 1-2, we may see at once that the *liff*-structure does *not* correspond with that of the *khmās* or "fifths" (nor, to a lesser extent, to that of clan or subclan except in certain cases), but tends rather to cut across it, if anything, as shown in the case of the *khums* of Aith Yusif w-'Ari/Aith 'Ari, in which each clan is opposed to the other, as are Aith Turirth and Timarzga on the subclan level, in the mountains. The *khums* of Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" opposed to Aith 'Adhiya, even the *khums* as such is a single block of territory, which Aith Yusif w-'Ari/Aith is not. Aith 'Abdallah on the other hand, *qua khums*, is such a unit, and stayed together in the total *liff* system, as did Aith Hadhifa (on the other side, and against Aith 'Abdallah), with their territorially discontinuous "brethren" of Aith 'Arus and I'akkiyen. Although there was no way of checking this at the time of field-work, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that the overall *liff* crystallized around disputes or fights between Aith Yusif w-'Ari and Aith 'Ari, between Aith Hadhifa and Aith 'Abdallah, between Aith Turirth and Timarzga, and between Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" and Aith 'Adhiya, Aith 'Arus, I'akkiyen and Imrabdhen (who all fought internally), however, and all put aside their own internal squabbles to help Faction A.

This brings up a second problem, in terms of territorial distribution. The *liff*-heads are, of course, whichever clans or subclans one's informants may belong to. But aside from the fact that it is striking to note a general pattern of hostility towards one's immediate clan or subclan neighbor, within the framework of the tribal territory, one may also note a feature in the overall Waryaghar *liff* which, in all the Rif, seems to be quite unique, I believe. This is its basic *disequilibrium*, one which in fact defies the equilibrium theory behind *liff*-systems in general; and this disequilibrium is all the more interesting in that Aith Waryaghar themselves do not perceive it (or at least, they do not do so explicitly). The plain fact, which is in disagreement with *liff*-systems elsewhere, is that Faction A is undeniably bigger than Faction B. It is of course possible to postulate a previous equilibrium between the two before the advent of Imrabdhen on the scene; and, as we have seen, the latter were probably brought in upon

the side of Aith Yusif w-'Ari through the marriage by Sidi Mhand u-Musa to a daughter of an *amghar* of the latter clan.

By such a reckoning, Imrabdhen then becomes a "fifth wheel," as it were, to add the extra weight on the side of Faction A (which, in fact, informants say, generally did win most of the intra-tribal wars which occurred). Thus two and two were added up to make five. In an earlier publication,[35] I expressed the view that the crucial determinant of the make-up of a given *liff*-system was whether the number of primary segments, whether constituted by "fifths" or by "clans," was odd or even; and I argued that in tribes that possess an even number of primary segments the *liff*-affiliations were virtually automatically determined (as in Aith 'Ammarth, with four clans or *r-urbu'*, two were aligned against the other two), whereas in tribes which possess an odd number of primary segments, one of these tends to become odd man out, and can either opt out for complete neutrality (as in Ibuqquyen and Thimsaman) or opt in, and then become split down the middle (as in effect happened both in Igzinnayen and in Axt Tuzin, though the actual details of each case are more complex and do not concern us here). This argument was based on the assumption of an overall equilibrium theory, and today and now, while I do not reject it, I do not concede it the primacy which I did at that time, in the light of re-thinking about the Waryaghar *dis*-equilibrium. It is still a consideration, but a secondary one. The Waryaghar *liffs,* on the overall level, remain *weighted,* in favor of A.

Why was this the case? The Imrabdhen, the "fifth wheel," provide the answer, I think. Through their allegiance to Aith Yusif w-'Ari, it was they themselves who created the disequilibrium, and they did so, paradoxically, *despite* the fact that a certain few of their individual lineages traditionally *restored* equilibrium through peace-making (while the rest of their lineages might to all intents and purposes have been or be "lay" lineages).

Looking again at Table 1, we can see that a certain attempt at balance in the *liff*-system was looked for in alliances *outside* of Waryagharland, with the neighboring clans of neighboring tribes,

[35] D. M. Hart, *op. cit.*, 1958, pp. 204–6, note 44.

to "remedy the situation," as it were. This brings up one or two more crucial points; and the principal one of these is: what were the *limits* of any given *liff*-system? As Gellner has argued,[86] permanent *liffs* in the Montagne scheme as presented for the Western Atlas were also *transitive*, i.e.; that if A and B were in *liff*, and B and C were also, it logically follows that A and C were in *liff* as well. Now this, in principle, is true for the *liff*-systems of the Rif, but only up to a point, for the system had well-defined limits. It was, in a sense, the chessboard which Montagne so liked to compare it to, but it was a very small chessboard, and perhaps rather a *series* of small chessboards, to the extent that this analogy can be pushed. I prefer to think of it rather *as a series of interlocking and halved and/or bisected concentric circles,* each containing a core inner circle of a heavy line, representing the surrounding clans of neighboring tribes, which were all themselves likewise involved in their own similar *liff*-systems, but who gave "under-the-counter" aid, in arms and money, to the clans they favored (and to the moiety to which these clans belonged) in the warring tribe when they themselves were not at war.

This accounts for the presence, as indicated in Table 1, of a clan of Aith 'Ammarth on the side of Faction A, and of a clan of Thimsaman, one of Axt Tuzin and one of Ibuqquyen on that of Faction B. Fig. 1-3, below, indicates the general features of the Rifian *liff*-system, and Fig. 1-4 is a paradigm schematizing the *liff*-systems of all six of the Central Rifian tribes, more or less as they actually existed on the ground.

Each Rifian tribe had its *own liff*-system, on the overall level, in which neighboring clans of bordering tribes might sometimes be involved, or sometimes not, but *never*, to my certain knowledge, a whole neighboring tribe. And it is precisely at this point that we find the effective limit of the system. Each *tribal* circle, as it were, might be partially affected by one of its neighbors, but never totally. Thus, essentially, each wheel rotated independently of the others, though sometimes cogs might come together and mesh. In the Aith Waryaghar case, the issue was rendered somewhat more complex by territorial discontinuity of participant subclans and by the presence of Imrabdhen, which

[86] For the appropriate quotation, see Hart, *op. cit.*, 1958, p. 204, note 44.

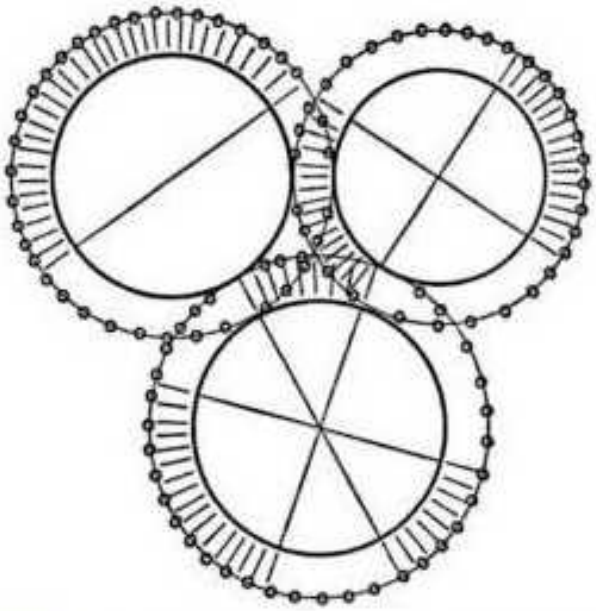

FIGURE 1-3 *Rifian Liffs: Interlocking, Bisection and Trisection:* The heavy inner circle represents a single tribal territory, the dotted outside one the clans concerned of neighboring tribes. White and black segments within a single tribal territory (i.e., within a single inner circle) represent the clans making up the opposed and hostile moieties, while shaded areas in the outer circles represent clans of the neighbor tribes which may be hostile in one context and/or friendly in another.

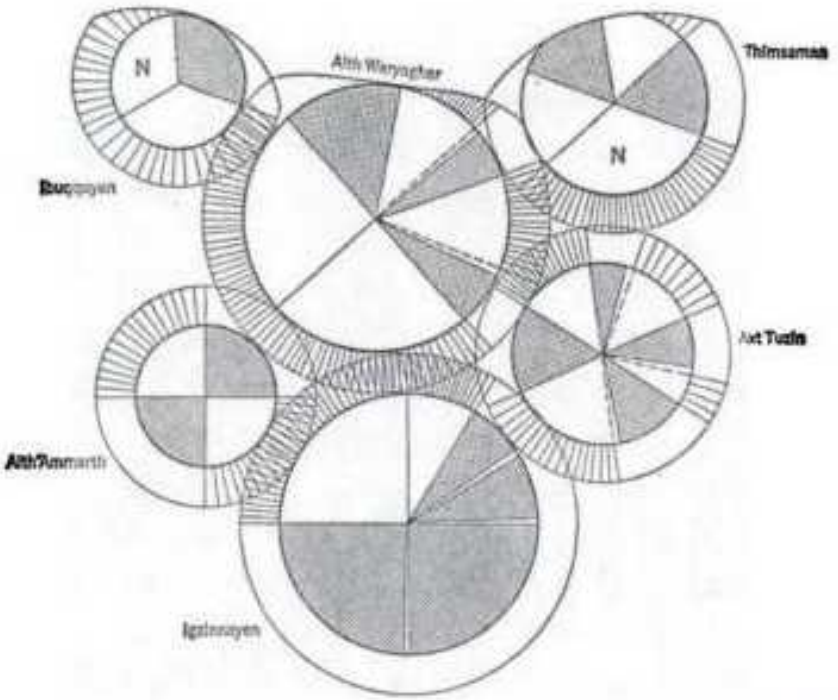

FIGURE 1-4 Paradigm of *Liff* systems of six central Rifian tribes. Dotted lines represent clans split in half by *liff;* N represents neutral clans.

created an imbalance in the system; but these factors do not obscure the way this system worked.

The "temporary" *liff*, however, operating within a clan, a subclan or a local community, could and did shift and change. We shall soon see that this is exactly what happened, in a brief survey, to follow, of local communities and lineages in the subclan territory of Aith Turirth.[37]

9. *"Seuls dans tout le Rif, les Beni Ouriaghel [Aith Warighar] ont des 'khoms' dont le territoire est formé de parcelles séparées." Author's translation: "Alone in the Rif, the Bni Waryaghal (= Aith Waryaghar) have* khmās, *the territory of which is made up of blocs separated from each other."*

There is no need now to comment on this point, which has been adequately explained already in Point 5; see above.

10. *". . . Partout ailleurs, chez les tribus de Mtiwa, Beni Bou Frah, Beni Itteft, Boqqoya, Temsaman, la division en 'khoms,' très apparente, découpe le pays en petites unités sensiblement égales en force et en surface, quelles que soient les conditions géographiques de la vie." Author's translation: ". . . Everywhere else, among the tribes of Mtiwa, Bni Bu Frah, Bni Yittuft, Buqquya and Thimsaman, the division into* khmās *["fifths"], very readily discernible, cuts the region up into little units of approximately equal strength and size, whatever the geographic conditions of existence may be."*

Of these other tribes mentioned by Montagne, only Thimasaman is in fact segmented into "fifths," and in this case they coincide completely with the clan structure. Bni Bu Frah and Aith Yittuft each have four clans, Ibuqquyen has three, and Mtiwa appears to have seven (the last mentioned I have not empirically verified). However, the point is clear: that the territorial discontinuity of "fifths" and clans discussed at length above exists only in Aith Waryaghar.

[37] In this case, the shift in *liffs* will form a crucial part of the narrative history of a feud and its convolutions and ramifications, to be given in Section V.

V. LINEAGES AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES IN AITH TURIRTH, A SUBCLAN TERRITORY

Aith Turirth (Fig. 1-2, Khums I, subclan of Aith Yussif w-'Ari) say that their nine constituent lineages are descended from a common ancestor, 'Amar, and that they are therefore Aith 'Amar. Genealogical connections to 'Amar (said to have come from Aith Yusif w-'Ari) can be traced, but there is little doubt that the genealogy has been foreshortened. These lineages are (1) Aith Uswir, (2) Yinn ("those of") Hand w-'Abdallah, (3) Aith 'Aru Musa, (4) Dharwa ("sons of") n-'Ari Muhand Uqshar, (5) Aith Mhand u-Sa'id, (6) Aith Ufaran, (7) Aith Ikhrif u-Hand, (8) Ihammuthen (very few left today) and (9) Aith 'Amar "Proper." Of these lineages, only the last three have always lived on land belonging to Aith Waryaghar; the rest of them all bought their land from Igzinnayen across the tribal border to the south. Also, of these lineages, only Aith Uswir, Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah, Aith 'Aru Musa and Aith Mhand u-Sa'id (four out of nine) play any real part in what is to follow.

The subclan territory, however, also contains seven "stranger" lineages: two "holy" lineages, Dharwa n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud of the Imrabdhen of Aith Kammun, and some minor representatives of the Shurfa n-Sidi Hand u-Musa of the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa subclan of Igzinnayen; and five "lay" lineages, Aith Hand u-Misa'ud (from Aith 'Ammarth), Aith Ya'qub (from Igzinnayen), Iznagen (from Igzinnayen also), Ihawtshen (from Axt Tuzin), and Imjjat (again, from Igzinnayen). The story of how the last-mentioned lineage, Imjjat, came to be one of the two most powerful ones in the subclan territory, and how it then subsequently disintegrated through a fight between two brothers and their descendants is a fascinating one. I tell it in purely narrative form in the next section, but reserve proper sociological analysis of it for a future publication.

Formerly, the tribe of Igzinnayen owned most of the present land of Aith Turirth; and the ancestors of the present lineages mentioned above gradually bought it from them. All of these lineages, as well as the first six "foreign" lineages (of the two

holy ones, the first was installed in Aith 'Aru Musa and the second near l-'Ass, and Iznagen and Ihawtshen were both in Tigzirin), were already installed when, about 1860, Muhand n-'Ari n-'Abd r-Harim—and nicknamed the "Fqir Azzugwagh," the "red-headed lay-brother," as he was a member of the Darqawa brotherhood (and it was by his nickname that he came to be known, as oftens happens in the Rif)—scissioned-off[38] from his own lineage in Hibir, in the clan of Asht 'Asim of Igzinnayen,

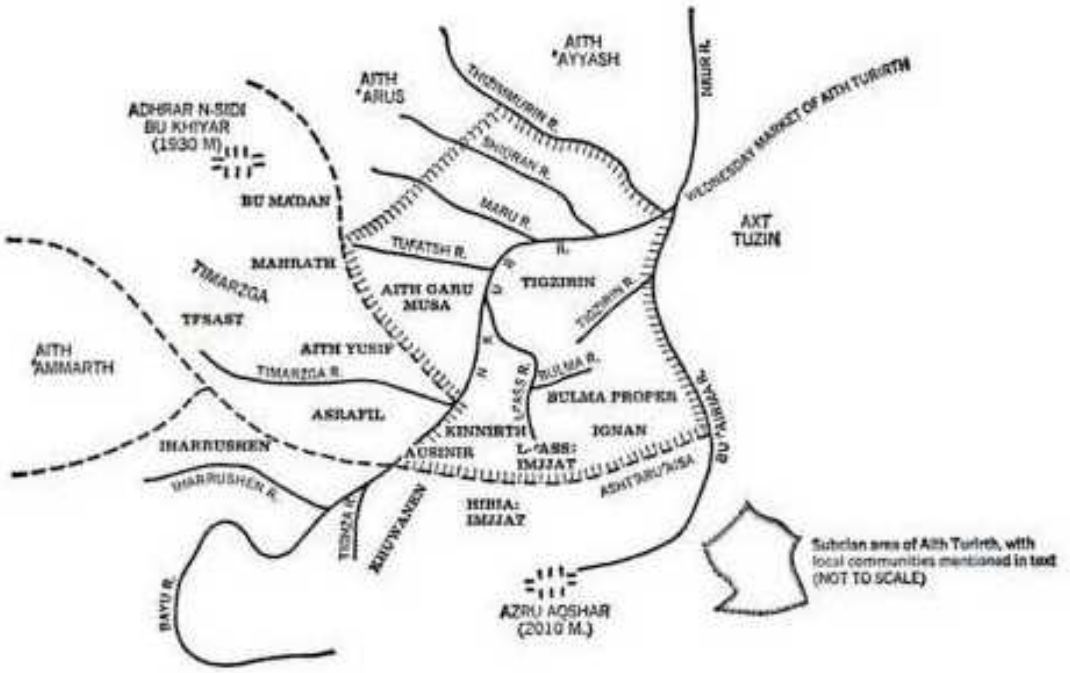

FIGURE 1-5

[38] What I call *scission* was an extremely common phenomenon in Rifian social structure. The fission of agnatic lineages has become an anthropological commonplace; but scission is a different matter altogether. What it involves is the physical act of individual or lineage A packing up its belongings and *moving* to locality B, which may be in a different clan of the same tribe or yet in a different tribe entirely. The name of the old lineage is, however, invariably retained in the new locality: thus we have Upper and Lower Ikatshumen, in Aith Yusif w-'Ari; Upper, Middle and Lower Bu Minqad in Aith 'Ari; and a host of other examples. The example which is pertinent here is that of the reduplication in just this fashion of the Imjjat lineage from Igzinnayen across the tribal border into Aith Waryaghar. The whole phenomenon of scission is one I plan to discuss in detail in a forthcoming work. I will say here only that the motives for it were generally twofold: (1) exile of murderers who broke the market "peace," and (2) population pressure which prompted emigration on the part of individuals in order to purchase land elsewhere.

It no longer occurs, of course, and has not done so since 1921 and the

and came to Waryagharland about 1852–53. It seems that the reason for his departure was that he got into a quarrel with and killed a *sharif*, no less (but not an important one), from the neighboring Igzinnayen subclan of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa. It need only be added that the remaining lineages of Imjjat still exist in Hibir, and this physical move documents nicely how lineage reduplication can occur from one tribe to the next.

The Fqir Azzugwagh went to Bulma, above and east of the Nkur River, where Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah had already installed themselves. They sold him some land, and in 1953 gave him a woman to wife. And at this point he met a man named 'Aisa w-'Amar from the lineage of Aith 'Aru Musa, who told him that the land even further up beyond Bulma (for Bulma has no water), in l-'Ass, was excellent; and the two of them went up there. This land, 1400–1450 m. high, was indeed very good, the best in Aith Turirth. There is always plenty of water in the small but tumultuous stream of Saru nj-'Ass which rises from a mountain spring (this allegedly gushed into being when one of the *shurfa* of Sidi Hand u-Musa, who could also ride his horse up and down perpendicular cliff walls, tapped the rock with his stick) to flow into the Upper Nkur River down below; and even if the mountains are steep and craggy (and dotted here and there with Aleppo pines), barley and rye, the former predominating, can always be cultivated on the slopes.

So, at l-'Ass, both men jointly bought the land in question from its immediately previous owners, Ihammuthen (who owned the upper land) and Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah (who owned the lower land); and they jointly built a house beside the stream, and, nearby, an olive press. As the two of them shared expenses equally in this venture, the division both of property and of irrigation water (and of olive oil, also) among their present descendants is exactly the same as it was among them, even though 'Aisa w-'Amar had only one son ('Amar w-'Aisa w-'Amar)[39]

beginning of the 'Abd al-Krim regime. Reasons are: no more feuding, and no more available land, wholly aside from the maintenance by the Spanish protectorate of more or less of a post-pacification *status quo*, after 1926.

[39] It is very common in the Rif to name a man for his paternal grandfather and extremely rare to name him for his father. The latter only normally happens if the father should die before the boy is born. And, under the same set of circumstances, if the mother is left a widow, what Fortes has termed

and the Fqir Azzugwagh had four ('Amar Uzzugwagh, Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, Muh Akuh Uzzugwagh and Muh Uzzugwagh), as well as a daughter, whom he gave in marriage to 'Amar w-'Aisa, the son of his partner. The descendants of 'Amar w-'Aisa still have only one house, down below beside the stream and the joint olive press of the two lineages, and those of the Fqir Azzugwagh, in 1955 at the time of my original fieldwork, had four, all widely dispersed from each other in proper Waryaghar style, up above and alongside the grain-cultivated slopes. One of these houses had in fact just been completed when my first stage of fieldwork was finished.

LINEAGE COMPOSITION OF IMJJAT

In 1955, in these five houses, there lived a total population of 71 individuals. Of these, three *nubath* (sing. *nubth*) or nuclear families,[40] in the lower house, comprised the (sub)lineage group of Dharwa n-'Amar w-'Aisa (2 married brothers, their 2 wives,

"complementary filiation" (cf. M. Fortes, "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups," in Simon and Phoebe Ottenberg, eds., *Cultures and Societies of Africa*, New York: Random House, 1960, pp. 163–89) is also common. In this, a child is called by its mother's name, e.g., Muhand n-Fattush. This applies particularly if the mother remains a widow, and has to bring up her children on her own; and it also applies if she happens to be from another clan or tribe from that of her deceased husband, e.g., Muh n-Ta'rusth (with mother from Aith 'Arus) or 'Allush n-Tagzinnaith (with mother from Igzinnayen). (It may also act as a way to distinguish children, locally, in the event of plural marriages of their father, but this is rarer—and informants deny it.) But it serves only as a means of identifying and distinguishing agnates under the above set of circumstances; there are no corresponding rights or obligations on the distaff side.

[40] *Nubth* literally means "turn." It may also count for a young single man and his widowed mother as well as for a nuclear family *sensu stricto* of father, mother and unmarried children. The concept revolves around the collective maintenance by the local community of the *fqih*, the Qur'anic schoolmaster, in the local mosque, who is paid annually in barley for his services. In 1955 the *fqih* of the Bulma mosque, which serves l-'Ass, received 8–10 quintals of barley from the local communities of Bulma, Ignan and l-'Ass, each *nubth* having paid an equal share. Not only this, but each *nubth*, in turn (and hence the name), feeds the *fqih* every night, and the latter, every afternoon, sends out one of his students to the *nubth* concerned to pick up his dinner for him.

Irrigation is also parcelled out, within each lineage, on a *nubth* basis; see below, p. 52.

a widowed mother and her spinster sister, 3 unmarried sons and 4 unmarried daughters), with a total of 13 people. In the four houses above, ten *nubath* made up the lineage-group of Dharwa u-Fqir Azzugwagh, or Imjjat nj-'Ass, with a total of 58 people. These last were broken up into their three component sublineage groups (*ijujga*, sing. *jajgu*), descended from three of the four sons of the Fqir Azzugwagh, as follows:

(a) *Dharwa n-'Amar Uzzugwagh*, with 5 *nubath*—the first, of a man, his 3 wives, his widowed mother, the widowed sister of his father, his own unmarried sister, his unmarried son and 3 unmarried daughters, 1 male servant and 2 female servants (14 people); the second, of another man, the maternal half-brother of the first (their joint mother having successively married 3 brothers, of whom the first two had died by violence), his wife and 2 unmarried daughters (4 people); the third, of another man, paternal uncle to the first two, with his wife, 3 unmarried sons and 3 unmarried daughters (8 people); the fourth, of a patrilateral parallel cousin of the first two (it was he who had just built the new house alluded to above), his wife, his wife's unmarried son by a previous marriage, and his own two unmarried daughters; and the fifth, by a young unmarried man, the son of the deceased brother of the preceding individual, his widowed mother and 2 unmarried sisters (4 people—although, at the time, the widow in question and her son and daughters resided in her own lineage-group of r-Mquddam, of Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah, in the neighboring and larger local community of Bulma). Total for Dharwa n-'Amar Uzzugwagh: 35 people. (It should be added that the members of the first three *nubath* live in the only two-storied house in the region. However, the man of the first *nubth* owns in fact another house of his own, built by his father before the latter's death, which is not located in l-'Ass, but some 4–5 km. down below by the bank of the Nkur River; he himself, his widowed mother and his second and third wives and their children lived there regularly, while the first wife and her children resided in l-'Ass.)

(b) *Dharwa n-Muh Akuh Uzzugwagh*, with 2 *nubath*—the first, of a very old man (Muh Akuh Uzzugwagh himself, deceased

as of 1956), his surviving wife, and 4 unmarried sons and 3 unmarried daughters (9 people); and the second, his married son, the latter's wife, and 1 unmarried daughter (3 people). Total for Dharwa n-Muh Akuh Uzzugwagh: 12 people.

(c) *Dharwa n-Mzzyan Uzzugwagh*, with 3 *nubath*—the first, of a man, his wife, his 3 unmarried daughters and 1 unmarried son (6 people); the second, of the man's younger brother, his wife and 1 unmarried daughter (3 people); and the third, of the unmarried male patrilateral parallel cousin of the first two men, and his widowed mother (herself a daughter of Muh Akuh Uzzugwagh) (2 people). Total for Dharwa n-Mzzyan Uzzugwagh: 11 people.

To the human population of Dharwa n-'Amar w-'Aisa could, at the time, be added an animal population of 2 cows, 1 donkey, 15 chickens, and 30 goats, as well as 20 days' worth of plowing and harvesting (of barley and rye—Rifians tend to make agricultural computations in temporal rather than spatial terms), 20 fig trees, 10 olive trees, 30 almond trees, 5 grape vines and 4 days of maize. To that of Imjjat (Dharwa u-Fqir Azzugwagh) could be added an animal population of 18 cows (though 6 of these were elsewhere at the time), 109 goats, 1 mule, 3 donkeys, some 40 chickens, and 2 cats, as well as 160 total days' plowing-harvesting of barley and rye (the barley, of course greatly predominating, but, again, not all of this at l-'Ass), 70 fig trees, 31 olive trees, 20 almond trees and 50 grape vines (both these last owned by a member of the lineage, but elsewhere in Timarzga).

The eight hectares of individually owned (*r-murk*) arable land (as opposed to the jointly or collectively-held *r-mishra'*, the pasture land owned by the *jma'th*, all the land-owning male members of the community, and generally reserved for goat-grazing on the higher slopes) had originally been divided into eight parts by the Fqir Azzugwagh—because of his four sons—and 'Amar w-'Aisa; and of these, four belonged to Imjjat and four to Dharwa n-'Amar w-'Aisa. The breakdown on the sublineage level was as follows: 1 part for 'Amar Uzzugwagh and his sons, 1 for Muh Akuh Uzzugwagh and his sons, 2 for Mzzyan and Muh Uzzugwagh and the sons of the former (for the latter died violently, as did his only surviving son, without male issue), and 4

for 'Amar w-'Aisa. The daughter of the Fqir Azzugwagh, who was married to 'Amar w-'Aisa, renounced—in very Rifian fashion—her own share of the inheritance in favor of her brothers. And water rights for irrigation were distributed in exactly the same way: 4 days (96 hours) for Imjjat (Dharwa Uzzugwagh)—1 day for 'Amar Uzzugwagh, 1 day for Muh Akuh Uzzugwagh, and 2 days for Mzzyan and Muh Uzzugwagh; and 4 days for Dharwa n-'Amar w-'Aisa. (A day of irrigation in l-'Ass starts at 2000 hours in the evening, to continue until the same time the following evening.)

MARRIAGE PATTERNS

Effective living members of the Imjjat lineage are in some cases three, and in some cases four, generations removed from the Fqir Azzugwagh himself. Out of 42 recorded marriages in the total agnatic genealogy (I have not counted out-marrying women in this connection), 18 are those of individuals now living. There have been 13 cases of plural marriages (with two or three, but never as many as four, wives), 14 of secondary or successive marriages, and 4 divorces. There have only been 3 instances of lineage endogamy (2 of these involving marriage with true parallel cousins), for the prevailing marriage pattern is unquestionably one of local lineage exogamy: 10 women have gone out in marriage to the lineages, respectively, of Aith Uswir (3), r-Mquddam Hand w-'Abdallah (1), Iznagen (1), Aith Ufaran (1), Aith 'Aru Musa (4—including the Fqir's daughter Fadhma Uzzugwagh to 'Amar w-'Aisa in l-'Ass), while some 21 women have come in, respectively, from Yinn bil-Lahsin Hanl w-'Abdallah (1—the Fqir's wife), Aith Uswir (4), Dharwa u-Mrabit 'Ari (2—this is a descendant sublineage of the Shurfa n-Sidi Hand u-Musa of Igzinnayn but it is resident in Kinnirth, near l-'Ass, in Waryagharland, and possessed of a certain prestige, if not of *r-baraka*), r-Mquddam Hand w-'Abdallah (5), Aith 'Aru Musa (1), Iznagen (3), Aith Mhand u-Sa'id (2), Ihawtshen (1), Aith Ufaran (1), Yinn 'Aru Misa'ud Hand w-'Abdallah (1) and Yinn Tufali Hand w-'Abdallah (1).

Local lineage exogamy is perhaps more marked in the Imjjat case than in any of the other lineages just mentioned, and they

represent a fair "round robin" of the Aith Turirth lineages. The Fqir Azzugwagh and his sons wished to create marital and hence alliance links "around the clock," as it were, within Aith Turirth, among whom they were strangers, but where they had settled down.[41] Endogamous marriages in these other lineages only occur in a somewhat larger minority of cases, as my genealogical evidence shows. Marriage in Waryagharland tends to be within the clan or subclan, within which the given number of constituent lineages residing in a given number of local communities simply hand women around to each other in an endless succession, year after year; and if Lineage X (say, Imjjat) already has affinal links (is *idhuran* with, as Rifians say) with Lineage Y (say, r-Mquddam Hand w-'Abdallah, or Aith Mhand u-Sa'id), it tends progressively to keep these up and renew them in future.[42]

There has also been a certain amount, though more in recent years, of subclan exogamy as well: 2 women have gone out to Timarzga and 3 have come in from that subclan, as well as 2 from Aith 'Arus. On the tribal level of exogamy, 3 women have gone out to Igzinnayen (one of these to the Imjjat in Hibir), 1 to Axt Tuzin, 1 to Tafarsith, and 1 to l-Mtalsa, in the Eastern Rif. Marriages of this type thus occur at a somewhat higher frequency than endogamous ones within lineages, in the case under discussion; but in the other recorded Aith Turirth cases, this frequency is less rather than more. There have also been no fewer than 8 instances of widow inheritance (I call it such, following Evans-Pritchard's usage, rather than "levirate"), in which, when a man dies, his brother, generally a younger one, marries his widow but raises children to her in his own name rather than in that of his deceased brother[43] (and this style of "widow-

[41] The Imjjat in l-'Ass make no secret whatsoever of their "foreign" origin. All their personal marriage and property, etc., documents, drawn up in Arabic by the local *fqih* refer to the Fqir Azzugwagh and to each of his sons as *l-Gzinnayi aslan, wa-la l-Waryaghli daran*, "of Igzinnayen origin, but resident in Waryagharland."

[42] I have recorded also a small number of cross-cousin marriages, in some of the other lineages of Aith Turirth, although Imjjat had none. These are not the supplementary factor that they are among Cyrenaican Bedouins (cf. Emrys Peters, "Proliferation of Segments in the Lineage of the Bedouin in Cyrenaica, *JRAI*, vol. 90, no. 1, 1960, pp. 29–53. [Reprinted as Chapter 18, Vol. I, *Peoples and Cultures of the Middle East*.]

[43] Godfrey Lienhardt, *Social Anthropology*, London 1964, p. 138.

inheritance" is the Arab and Berber norm, quite unlike the true levirate of the Ancient Jews and of Evans-Pritchard's Nilotic Nuer). Coon[44] thought that the reason for this was to provide for the widows of men who had died violently in feud; the thought is attractive, but it only very partially corresponds to the realities of the case. The real reasons, according to Aith Waryaghar, behind *yarrit w-umas* ("she married his brother") are far more utilitarian, as well as being based on pride and mistrust, and are three in number: (1) to ensure that any property concerned remains in the hands of the agnatic lineage in question; (2) to prevent a man's brother's widow from losing status by marrying an outsider; and (3) to prevent her children, if she has any, from being brought up by an outsider. (Two cases in fact involved *double* widow inheritance: in one of these a woman, who is still living today, successively married *three* full brothers, two of whom met sudden deaths—one by feud about 1920–21 and the next through a French-dropped bomb in the Rifian War in 1925—while the third, who had been a *qaid* of 100 men under 'Abd al-Krim, became *shaikh* of Aith Turirth under the Spaniards and died peacefully in bed in 1946. In the second instance, a woman first married a man; then, when he was killed, she married his male patrilateral parallel cousin, and upon the latter's accidental death, she married the full brother of that cousin.) The reverse side of the coin, the sororate (*iwi dhasrifthines*, "he marries his wife's sister"), is also fairly common in Waryagharland; but, although I have examples of it from other genealogies in Aith Turirth, there happened to be none in the Imjjat case. In the sororate, the question of property does not apply, and there are only two considerations: (1) that a man's widow's sister will take care of his children by his deceased wife, and (2) that he himself will remain on good terms with his affines, by marrying her.

Dharwa n-'Amar w-'Aisa have all married women from their own larger lineage of Aith 'Aru Musa, however, with two exceptions: the daughter of the Fqir Azzugwagh (who married 'Amar w-'Aisa himself), and one living member who has a wife from Aith Bu 'Ayyash. One instance of widow inheritance has been

[44] Cf. Eliot D. Chapple & Carleton S. Coon, *Principles of Anthropology*, New York: Henry Holt, 1942, p. 311.

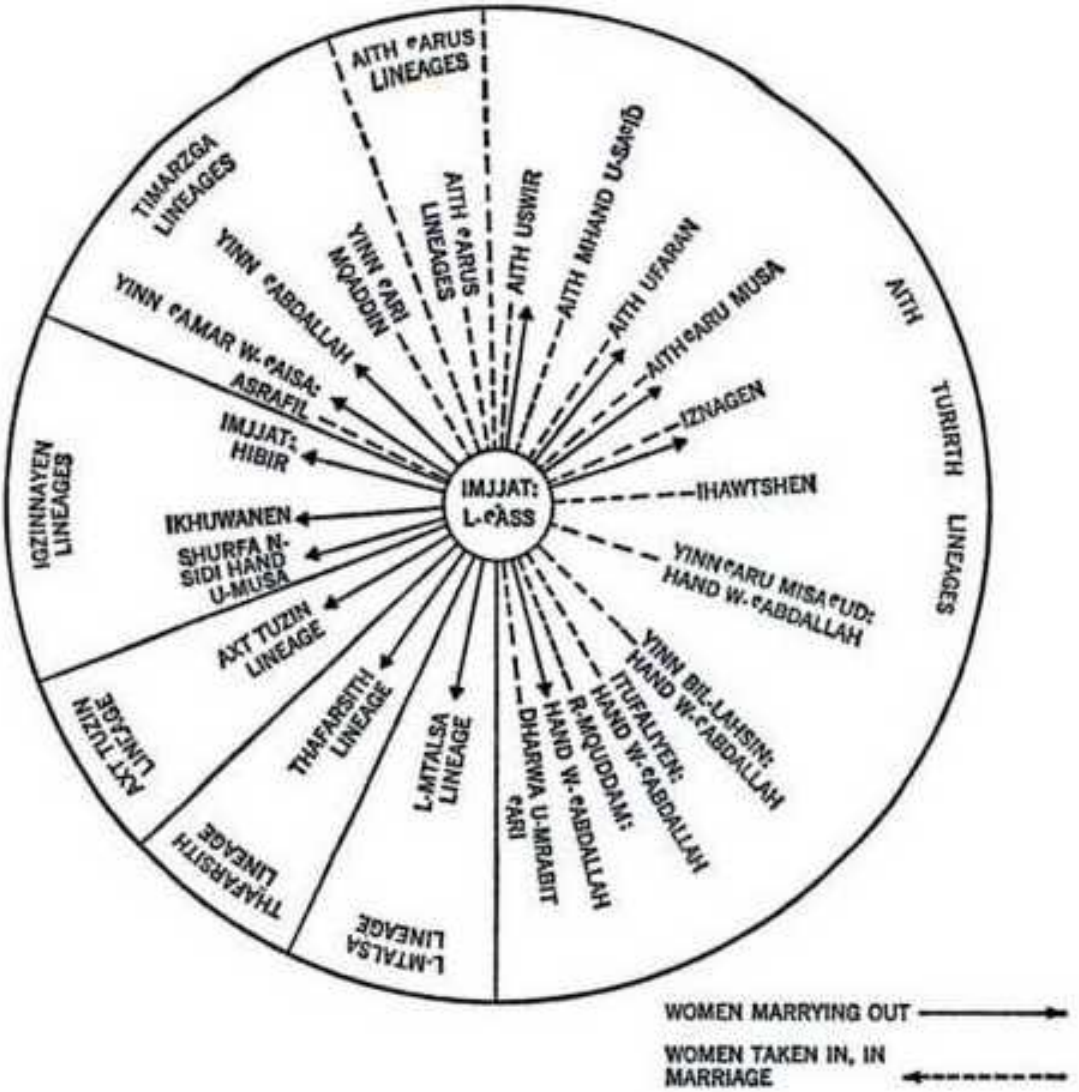

FIGURE 1-6 Local exogamy of Imjjat lineage in l-'Ass.

recorded (but since 1955); and this branch sublineage has thus retained strong links with its own original lineage-group located down below by the Nkur River.

OTHER COMMUNITIES AND LINEAGES OF AITH TURIRTH

In the overall subclan territory of Aith Turirth (total population, in 1952, 2690 people in 282 houses)[45] we find also the local communities and their membership of l'Ass, Ignan, and Bulma "Proper," *l-'Ass* also includes, administratively, the lineage of Dharwa u-Mrabit 'Ari in Kinnirth, alluded to above and had a

[45] Figures kindly supplied by Capt. José Rodriguez Erola of the Spanish Army, at the time the *interventor comarcal* of Aith Waryaghar. The Moroccan census of 1960 indicates a total of 556 *nubath* and 3424 population.

Igzinnayen; and given, in Tigzirin, the stranger lineages of Iznagen and Ihawtshen (the last-mentioned group are mat- and donkey-pannier makers, despised almost as much as blacksmiths and musicians, a lineage whose members themselves never fought, but who traditionally buried the dead of those lineages that did), and of those Yinn 'Aru Misa'ud (Hand w-'Abdallah) of Bulma who bought land there, the picture, is, as I pieced it together, now more or less complete.

VI. THE FEUD IN IMJJAT LINEAGE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

This article began with history; it will end with a tradition, a local version of history, in an attempt to make a coherent narrative whole out of what, in the raw material stage, was a succession of anecdotes.

After the Fqir Azzughwagh was installed in l-'Ass, his sons grew up and married: 'Amar Uzzughagh to a woman of Aith Uswir, Mzzyan Uzzugwagh to one of Aith Mhand u-Sa'id, Muh Akuh Uzzugwagh to another of Aith Uswir, and the wife of Muh Uzzugwagh was the same woman as that of Mzzyan—she was "widow-inherited" by the latter after the former's death by violence. The Fqir himself continued to live down below with 'Amar w-'Aisa and his daughter (the latter's wife), while his sons built their new houses on the upper slope. And with the support of these sons (all of them, save Muh Akuh, excellent fighters), the Fqir Azzugwagh, a stranger, became one of the two most powerful men in all of Aith Turirth.

There was only one other man strong enough to challenge him: the Hajj Am'awsh of Yinn 'Aru Misa'ud (Hand w-'Abdallah), in Bulma. And one fine day the Hajj and his agnates, along with some men of Aith 'Arus and Aith Bu Khrif, all desirous of cutting the Fqir down to size, came up to l-'Ass (which means "gardens"), with the intention of burning down his house. But the the Fqir down to size, came up to l-'Ass (which means "garsons that they would never be allowed to set foot in his house again if they did not start shooting at the unwelcome visitors. So, when the latter had reached the olive press on their upward

march, the Fqir's sons fired on them, wounding several, and the remainder then fled back along the path by which they had come.

Not long afterwards, a paternal uncle of the Hajj Am'awsh killed a man from Iznagen; an agnate of the dead man had wanted him (the dead man) out of the way and had promised the Hajj some land and a woman if he dispatched him. Thus Iznagen obtained the protection of the Hajj Am'awsh, some of whose descendants, as noted above, live in Tigzirin to this day. Hajj Am'awsh gave the woman in marriage to one of his sons.[49] Iznagen had previously fought amongst themselves, but not against any of the lineages to which they were now allied. Only Ihawtshen—who buried the dead of the fighting lineages—remained apart and outside. There was a repeat performance soon after, when another man of Iznagen wanted the Hajj Am'awsh to kill one of his agnates; and thus the Hajj gained even more land in Tigzirin.

At this point an event happened to make the picture more involved: Muh Uzzugwagh was killed in 1897 by one of those members of Imjjat lineage, one Muh n-Bu Yarij, who, unlike the Fqir Azzugwagh, had stayed in Hibir, the tribal area of Igzinnayen. Muh n-Bu Yarij fled as an *adhrib* to Iharrushen, again in Igzinnayen, where Muh Uzzugwagh's brothers 'Amar and Mzzyan rushed to seek him out. They were prevented from doing so by the people of Iharrushen, who came out and fired at them; Mzzyan Uzzugwagh escaped, but 'Amar was wounded in the leg and remained lame for life. He took refuge in the very same house where Muh n-Bu Yarij was hiding, and received the protection of the mistress of the house (through the ritual act of placing his hand on the handmill), under which he stayed until he was able to pay *r-haqq* amounting to 1000 duros hasani which the council members of Iharrushen had imposed upon him. A week later, however, he and his brother Mzzyan went to a wedding in Hibir; here they found Muh n-Bu Yarij whom, under cover of the wedding ceremonies, they dispatched with their

[49] In years to follow, Iznagen, whose women are reputed the most beautiful in Aith Turirth, were to follow the pattern now established: they gave three women to Aith Uswir, one to Yinn 'Aru Misa'ud, one to Imjjat (to 'Amar Uzzugwagh's son Mhand n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, as a second wife), and one to Aith Mhand u-Sa'id.

knives before returning to l-'Ass. . . . And now their father, the Fqir Azzugwagh, died peacefully in bed.

Now, however, to shift gears again, the alliance between the Hajj Am'awsh and Iznagen had become precarious. One day the Hajj's agnates went to Tigzirin from Bulma to cut brushwood there; they started doing so on Iznagen pasture land, and the Iznagen protested. No shots were fired, but Iznagen, who began to think that the Hajj's protection was becoming somewhat oppressive, went to l-'Ass to tell 'Amar Uzzugwagh what had happened. 'Amar had now become Imjjat lineage-head in l-'Ass since his father's death, though his title was not to remain uncontested for long.

For meanwhile, in l-'Ass, a rift had already developed between the surviving full brothers (by father and same mother) 'Amar and Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, over a woman and over a question of inheritance (that of the woman in question), in the following manner: when Muh Uzzugwagh, brother of 'Amar and Mzzyan, was killed, his wife was taken over in proper widow-inheritance fashion by his brother Mzzyan Uzzugwagh. This woman had already had, however, a daughter, Fattush, by her first husband, the late Muh Uzzugwagh. 'Amar Uzzugwagh wanted to marry this girl to *his* son and her patrilateral parallel cousin, Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh. Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, who had become the girl's stepfather through having married her mother, was in no way agreed to this. He thought that her share of the inheritance would thereby escape him completely, and that it would go entirely to 'Amar Uzzugwagh. So, therefore, he denied his brother's request and married the girl off into the lineage of Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim in Timarzga. By so doing, he kept her inheritance and gained new allies, at the same time. His brother, 'Amar Uzzugwagh, now furious, married his second son Mhand n-'Amar to a girl of the same Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim lineage in Timarzga, and then his third son 'Allush n-'Amar to another girl in a neighboring lineage, Yinn 'Abdallah, which was hostile to Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim. Thus, 'Amar seemed to check, but by no means check-mate, his brother's moves toward lineage primacy.

Even wilder with rage and frustration than 'Amar was his eldest son Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, who was to show himself the toughest member of a very tough lineage. If, he said, he

could not marry his parallel cousin, Fattush, he would never marry at all; and he was thus, aged nearly thirty-five, the only bachelor *amghar* in the *aitharba'in*. He gained a reputation as a "gunslinger," and everyone was afraid of him. He had also, perhaps, severe psychological problems as well, as he was his father's first-born child and all his younger brothers had married before him. He was reputed an excellent shot, and his excuse for carrying two rifles was that if the barrel of one got hot while he was blasting away in his *ashbar* or feuding pill-box, he always had the other! He was short, slight of build, and, for a Rifian, rather dark. Muh n-'Amar took, I am told, tremendous personal risks in feud-fighting, but was never so much as touched by an enemy bullet. In a region where everybody tries to become a personality, a cult of personality cannot exist (later, 'Abd al-Krim, who did away with feuding pill-boxes, was the only member of Aith Waryaghar to overcome this stricture—in his case one can even speak, and in no uncertain terms, of local-level and indeed national-level charisma); but even so, the name of Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh is remembered today by old men not only in Waryagharland, but in Igzinnayen and Axt Tuzin as well.

Finally, however, Muh n-'Amar married a daughter of the Mrabit 'Ari of the Shurfa n-Sidi Hand u-Musa (from Asht 'Aru 'Aisa in Igzinnayen, but resident in Kinnirth, in Waryagharland) —she was 14; he was 35. Ironically, he produced no sons, only two daughters, as a result of this marriage; one of these died in childhood, and the other is now married to a man in Aith Uswir. He had a premonition that he was to die by violence, even so, and he did not want his wife to be "widow-inherited" by any of his brothers. However, this is exactly what did happen, and not only once, but twice; it is the first of the two cases of double widow-inheritance referred to earlier. And the woman, still living, outlasted all three of her husbands, by all of whom, it might be added, she had children.

The Hajj Am'awsh, long waiting in the sidelines, was quick to take advantage of the breach between 'Amar and Mzzyan Uzzugwagh; he allied himself to Mzzyan by giving his granddaughter, Maryim Yighidh nj-Hajj Am'awsh, to Mzzyan's nephew Muh n-Muh Uzzugwagh (the only son of the late Muh Uzzugwagh,

who was killed while his wife was still pregnant). And the Aith Uswir lineage, allied to 'Amar Uzzugwagh, became even more so when one of the Hajj's sons, Dris nj-Hajj Am'awsh, in the company of Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, ambushed and killed one of the Aith Uswir men on a path leading to the Tuesday Market of Azraf in Axt Tuzin. On another occasion, the Hajj and Mzzyan ambushed a man from r-Mquddam Hand w-'Abdallah and one from Iznagen as they were returning from the Wednesday Market of Aith Turirth (and no *r-haqq* was paid in either case). Thus, these two lineages, already allied to 'Amar Uzzugwagh, were now even more solidly in his camp. . . . At this point, the Hajj Am'awsh, now very old, made the pilgrimage to Mecca and died there. (It is odd that both he and the Fqir Azzugwagh should have died of simple old age, when this was true of almost none of the other actors in this drama.)

We may note here that in view of these events, the two *liffs* or factions *within* Aith Turirth had completely shifted in membership. *Previously,* the Fqir Azzugwagh and his sons had been against the Hajj Am'awsh and his; but *now* two of the Fqir's sons, full brothers, 'Amar Uzzugwagh and Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, were pitted against each other. All the other lineages of Aith Turirth (Iznagen, Aith Mhand u-Sa'id, Aith 'Aru Musa, Aith Hand u-Misa'ud, Aith Uswir, Aith Ya'qub, Ihammuthen, r-Mquddam Hand w-'Abdallah, and Aith Ufaran) were on the side of 'Amar Uzzugwagh, save that of the Hajj Am'awsh, Yinn 'Aru Misa'ud, as well as the other lineages (except for r-Mquddam Hand w-'Abdallah) of subclan Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah (Yinn bil-Lahsin, Itufaliyen and Ibutaharen n-Bulma), and Aith Ikhrif u-Hand (enemies of Aith 'Aru Musa), who were with Mzzyan, as were also the Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim of Timarzga. Most if not all of these alliances had been created through the establishment of affinal ties.

And as the Imjjat in l-'Ass were divided, so were those who had stayed in Hibir in Igzinnayen; the lineages of Iqudhadhen and Imrafen backed 'Amar Uzzugwagh, while Dharwa n 'Ari (from which Dharwa u-Fqir Azzugwagh is an offshoot) was split in half: Dharwa n-Mzzyan n-'Ari were with 'Amar Uzzugwagh, while Mzzyan n-'Ari's own brother Azarqan ("Blue Eyes") n-'Ari

backed Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, as did Ibinhadduthen and Dharwa n-'Ari "Proper."[50]

And now Aith Mhand u-Sa'id in Ignan threatened 'Amar Uzzugwagh with war if he did not agree to kill his brother Mzzyan. Thus, 'Amar Uzzugwagh decided to send his sons Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh and 'Allush n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, aided by Muh n-'Amar w-'Aisa, who was his ('Amar Uzzugwagh's) sister's son (*ayyaw*) to deal with his own brother, Mzzyan, once and for all. Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh's hatred for his uncle Mzzyan was extremely great in any case, and he rejoiced at the thought that it was he who was going to put him out of the way. So the three of them went to the fruit trees in l-'Ass, where they waited for Mzzyan. When the latter came out of his house, he was accompanied by his deceased brother's son Muh n-Muh Uzzugwagh and by his *akhammas* (agricultural laborer who is traditionally paid one-fifth of the harvest for his services as the occupational label indicates). 'Allush n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, hidden, fired at Mzzyan but only wounded him in the leg; and Mzzyan escaped. And 'Allush, wanting to pursue his uncle, became tired after half an hour, and went home. . . . At the same moment, however, that 'Allush fired, his brother Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh fired the second shot, killing their cousin Muh n-Muh Uzzugwagh instantly; and the *akhammas* escaped.

While the noise of rifle fire echoed around the valley, Muh Akuh Uzzugwagh crept out of his house unobserved. He was on Mzzyan's side because his daughter was married to Mzzyan's son Muh Akuh n-Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, her patrilateral parallel cousin. And now, hidden, Muh Akuh Uzzugwagh saw 'Amar w-'Aisa come out of his house to see what was the matter; and he shot him down as soon as he reached the garden. A man of the Imjjat in Hibir (Igzinnayen) who was with Muh Akuh Uzzugwagh, and who was in full view of Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh was then shot by the latter. Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh had now killed two men that day, and he was not through yet.

During the fight, Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, wounded, hid himself

[50] This last sublineage was the one which produced the brothers Muh n-Bu Yarij and Aqshar—"Scabhead"—n-Bu Yarij. Rifians, and those of Igzinnayen in particular, are fond of nicknames; and these often turn into lineage-names, recording for posterity a physical trait or peculiarity of the lineage founder as well.

in a ravine. 'Amar Uzzugwagh himself passed by, and thinking that his son 'Allush was dead, as he had not seen him return home after wounding Mzzyan, called to his other son Muh, "Where is your brother 'Allush?" . . . And Muh n'Amar Uzzugwagh, who had seen that Mzzyan had fallen and that he was somewhere nearby, yelled back, "Father, be careful of Uncle Mzzyan!" At this very moment, Mzzyan, who still had his rifle, lifted it up with difficulty, took aim and drilled his brother 'Amar through the head. By so doing, however, he gave his position away to his brother's son Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh; and the latter, horrified at his father's death, rushed up to his Uncle Mzzyan and, with his two rifles, pumped eleven bullets into the latter's body. Then he left, thinking that Mzzyan was dead, but tradition has it that even with so much lead in his body, Mzzyan Uzzugwagh lay in that ravine for another two weeks before expiring. . . . And thus in one day, 'Amar Uzzugwagh, Muh n-Muh Uzzugwagh, Muh n-Si Muhand of Hibir, and 'Amar w-'Aisa all died; and Mzzyan Uzzugwagh was as good as dead, despite the fifteen days of semi-conscious life left to him. Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh had won a Pyrrhic victory, and the Ihawtshen came to bury the corpses in the Bulma cemetery.[51]

Now the vendetta began to ramify out in other directions, and the positions of the lineages in the two *liffs* became crystallized. Twenty-five men of Aith Uswir died violently, and this lineage remained solidly in the camp of the sons of 'Amar Uzzugwagh.

In point of time, World War I had now ended in Europe; but the grandsons of the Fqir Azzugwagh were at best only dimly aware, if even that, that a larger struggle than their own had just culminated in an Allied victory. They were more concerned with their own allies and enemies. Now Muh Akuh Uzzugwagh spoke to Aqshar ("Scabhead") n-Bu Yarij of the Imjjat in Hibir, whose brother Muh n-Bu Yarij had long ago been killed by 'Amar

[51] I realize that the repetition of names, and the endless recombinations of them, may at times be most bewildering to the reader; but this is what happens when one is dealing with a society in which there are only a limited number of names to go around! Parenthetically, *akuh* means "younger," in Waryagharland, so that if two brothers—such as Muh Uzzugwagh and Muh Akuh Uzzugwagh—have the same name, one is always, explicitly or implicitly, *amqqran*, "older," and the other is *akuh*.

Uzzugwagh. Muh Akuh gave the Scabhead[52] some money to kill Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, who, after killing his uncle Mzzyan, had become the most powerful man in all of Aith Turirth. (The sons of the Hajj Am'awsh were no longer a real factor to be reckoned with.) And Muh Akuh Uzzugwagh was now the only important and effective member left of Mzzyan's family, as Mzzyan's own sons were still small boys.

Other things were happening in Hibir as well. Mzzyan n-'Ari, on the side of the sons of 'Amar Uzzugwagh, fled from there to l-'Ass as an *adhrib*, and was pursued and shot there by a brother, still living, of Muh and of Aqshar n-Bu Yarij, the scabhead alluded to above.

Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh had now, by 1920 or 1921, been married for three years to one of the daughters of the Mrabit 'Ari of Kinnirth; and one day he was invited by his father-in-law to eat with him. Aqshar n-Bu Yarij was invited also, and after the meal was over, he announced that he had to leave if he was to get back to Hibir before nightfall. So Aqshar left the house, but in fact hid himself behind a rock, with his rifle, not far away. Shortly afterward, Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh came out of the house at a call from his wife's sister's husband Muh n-bin Haddu, also of the same lineage (Ibinhadduthen) as Aqshar n-Bu Yarij in Hibir, and also in on the plot. Muh n-bin Haddu, up above the rock behind which Aqshar was hidden, called out, "Oh Amghar!" Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh paused in his stride, looked up and replied, "What?"—and Aqshar immediately shot him through the head. (Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh's father-in-law the Mrabit 'Ari had also been implicated, as Muh Akuh Uzzugwagh had given him money to invite Muh n-'Amar to his house.)

Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh was now dead, but he still had four surviving brothers. Of these, three, Mhand, 'Allush, and Hammadi, went to see the Mrabit 'Ari three months later. They told him to produce Muh n-bin Haddu, who had fled back to Hibir after the killing of their brother, or they would kill him. The Mrabit 'Ari was coerced into accepting; and so one day he brought Muh n-bin Haddu to l-'Ass to eat with Hammadi

n-'Amar Uzzugwagh. After the meal, the Mrabit 'Ari said that he wanted to see his daughter (the fabled woman who was first the wife of Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, then of 'Aisa n-'Amar [the fourth brother], and finally of Hammadi n-'Amar), and left. At this point, Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh grabbed a billhook (*r-hadida*); he struck Muh n-bin Haddu on the head with it with all his strength, and killed him. He then called his brothers to throw the body into the same crevasse where Muh n-'Amar had fallen.

Meanwhile, Muh n-'Amar w-'Aisa (the grandson of the Fqir Uzzugwagh's old partner) and 'Aisa n-'Amar Uzzugwagh were plowing together on the mountain slope, with 'Amar n-bin Haddu, the brother of the late Muh n-bin Haddu, and his son Muhammad. Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh sent a woman up to the field to tell Muh n-'Amar w-'Aisa that Muh n-bin Haddu was dead. Immediately on receipt of the news, Muh n-'Amar w-'Aisa dropped his plow, picked up his rifle, and shot both 'Amar n-bin Haddu and his son—both of the latter dropped in their tracks. And once again, the next day, the Ihawtshen took the bodies to the Bulma cemetery for burial.

The next incident: Hammadi, 'Allush, and Mhand n-'Amar Uzzugwagh called the people of Iznagen to come and take away the animals of Muh Akuh Uzzugwagh. But the latter heard what was going to happen and hid himself on the branch of an Aleppo pine; and when the Iznagen arrived, he fired on them and wounded two. At the same time, Mhand n-'Amar Uzzugwagh shot a woman, his own parallel cousin, Fadhma n-Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, and the goatherd of the late Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, both, with a single bullet, as they were standing in the doorway of Mzzyan's house. Thus, two for the price of one, as it were—even though women, under normal circumstances, were exempt from the male occupation and pursuit of bloodfeuding. (It may, however, be debated that this was a normal circumstance!)

But Mhand n-'Amar Uzzugwagh was soon to get his comeuppance. He was plowing his field on a hot day, and he made the great mistake of coming to the house of his uncle, the late Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, now dead a year, to ask Mzzyan's widow for some water. Instead, she gave him poisoned milk; and ten days after drinking it, he died in horrible agony.

Now the Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim of Timarzga, allied by marriage to a very powerful individual, the Hajj Biqqish of the tribe of Igzinnayen (of Ikhuwanen in Asht 'Asim), were to take a hand. 'Allush n-'Amar Uzzugwagh and his *asrif* (wife's sister's husband), Hammadi n-Zaryuhth of Aith Uswir, went together one day to Timarzga to help their affines of Yinn 'Abdallah, who were fighting against Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim. These latter were of course aided in turn by the Hajj Biqqish, for he had given his daughter in marriage to one of them; and he now came across the tribal border to be of assistance.[53]

'Allush n-'Amar Uzzugwagh and Hammadi n-Zaryuhth were in the feuding pill-box of Yinn 'Abdallah, when Biqqish called out to them, "Come out of there—it's not your fight, and nothing will happen to you!" So they came out and then Biqqish, in an aside, told his son-in-law to pick up his gun and shoot them both. His men grabbed their rifles, and the son-in-law of Biqqish shot 'Allush and Hammadi as they were struggling to break free (for a brother-in-law of 'Allush had previously killed his father).

Now Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, Mhand n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, and 'Allush n-'Amar Uzzugwagh were all dead, and their brother Hammadi became family head and *amghar*. His first act was to kill Aqshar n-Bu Yarij, who had killed Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh; and the vengeance killing took place in Timarzga, at a wedding in Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim. Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh and his one effective remaining brother 'Aisa n-'Amar Uzzugwagh came to this wedding, which was given by the killer of 'Allush n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, with some men of Aith Uswir. They saw Aqshar n-Bu Yarij there and told their host that they would either take him or kill all the guests at the wedding. So their host gave Aqshar the Scabhead to them; they took him to the Nkur River, cut him down like a dog, and threw his body into

[53] Biqqish himself was later, late in 1925, poisoned by order of 'Abd al-Krim, of whom he had by then become an unsuccessful rival, in the Wednesday Market of Aith Turirth, after a period of captivity in 'Abd al-Krim's jail in Ajdir. Those of Ikhuwanen (Igzinnayen) and Timarzga (only Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim) in Waryagharland who had sided with Biqqish against the Rifian leader had their houses burnt by his irregulars from Aith 'Arus and Aith Turirth afterwards, for their pains. . . . It was Biqqish, incidentally, who had chased out of Ikhuwanen the old man from there who lived in Bulma in 1955; he had burned the man's house and killed his family. Biqqish was tough, but 'Abd al-Krim showed himself tougher.

the water. And, once again, there was more work for the undertakers of Ihawtshen.

This state of affairs, no doubt, would have continued indefinitely; but now the Rifian War broke out against Spain, and 'Abd al-Krim appeared as the *za'im* (Arabic) and the *mujahid*, the "leader" and the "fighter," of the hour (and *not*, as some would have it, the "Sultan of the Rif," for his government was only a provisional one, during a war which in the end he lost); his first act was to call an abrupt halt to bloodfeuds all over Waryagharland and then all over the Rif in general.

And the new war, against the Spaniards, took its toll on Imjjat. The eldest son of Muh Akuh Uzzugwagh was killed fighting against them in Axt Tuzin; and then later in the war, 'Aisa n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, who had helped to kill Aqshar n-Bu Yarij, was himself obliterated by a bomb which a French airplane dropped on the Friday Market at Ikhabbeben, in Igzinnayen, in 1925 or 1926, just as he was saddling up his mule to return to l-'Ass. 'Abd al-Krim had appointed one Mzzyan n-Hmid of Aith Mhand u-Sa'id as *qaid at-tabur* of Aith Turirth, with a *harka* command of 400 irregulars; but this command was finally switched and given to Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, who distinguished himself for bravery in action. After the war was over, and the Spaniards had, by the late summer of 1926, effectively occupied the whole of the Jbil Hmam (the French had been holding it and Aith 'Ammarth during the summer interval after 'Abd al-Krim surrendered), they nominated two shaikhs, Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh and Dris nj-Hajj Am'awsh, for Aith Turirth—and old patterns of behavior nearly started to emerge again. However, the new lowland *qaid* of Aith Waryaghar, another Spanish nominee who had also been with 'Abd al-Krim, soon removed Dris nj-Hajj Am'awsh from the running: he had him beaten to death before the year was up for having failed to turn over two rifles to the Spanish authorities. And now Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh remained the *mqaddim* of all Aith Turirth until his death in 1946. In 1938, in the company of numerous other Waryaghar notables, he had made the pilgrimage to Mecca and became the Hajj Hammadi. The Mrabit 'Ari had died in 1936, Muh n-'Amar w-'Aisa died in 1942; and finally, Muh Akuh Uzzugwagh passed away in 1956. And thus, in Imjjat

at any rate, the members of the older, feuding generation have all gone; their successors remember the foregoing events as recounted to them with a mixture of shame, pride, and regret. . . .

In the second half, the fight between the brothers, of this sanguinary chronicle, at least fourteen people died by violence: five on the side of 'Amar Uzzugwagh (e.g., 'Amar Uzzugwagh himself; his three sons Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, Mhand n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, and 'Allush n-'Amar Uzzugwagh; and 'Amar w-'Aisa) and nine on the side of Mzzyan Uzzugwagh (Muh n-Bu Yarij, his brother Aqshar n-Bu Yarij, and Muh n-Si Muhand, of Hibir; Mzzyan Uzzugwagh himself, and his daughter Fadhma n-Mzzyan Uzzugwagh; Muh n-Muh Uzzugwagh; and Muh and 'Amar n-bin Haddu, and 'Amar's son Muhammad, again of Hibir). Five from nine leaves four, but, in view of the circumstances, only a stalemate had been achieved.

Living members of the Imjjat say, as a result of all the foregoing, that if their predecessors had stayed together as good agnates should do,[54] they would have become the strongest single lineage in all of Waryagharland—and a stranger lineage from the tribe of Igzinnayen, at that. (They are still "strangers," but

[54] As exemplified, for instance, in the collective oath (*r-imin* or *thzaddjith*), decollectivized by 'Abd al-Krim. In the Waryaghar version of this formerly generalized Berber phenomenon, any man accused of any crime short of murder had to swear with five of his agnates (making six cojurors, *yuxshin n-r-imin* or *izuddjen*, in all) in the "Friday mosque" on the Qur'an, and in front of both the plaintiff and the *fqih*, to his innocence. In a case of suspected murder, the accused had to swear in the same way, but with eleven agnates (i.e., twelve in all). And in any question involving men of different tribes, fifty cojurors (the accused and forty-nine others) were needed. In such a case, of course, many of the cojurors were merely fellow-clansmen or -tribesmen as well as agnates. Any male of age to fast during Ramadhan (who had, i.e., attained puberty) could swear; and women could not. Perjury at oath would produce dire supernatural consequences (the accused or any of his cojurors might be struck down by God); if the accused or any cojuror failed to turn up at the appointed time—on Friday, just before the noon prayer—the defendant had to pay the plaintiff. The testimony of witnesses (and twelve ordinary witnesses, or two *'adul* or notaries public, were needed), however, always overrode any denials by the accused or by his cojurors. Edward Westermarck (*Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, 2 vols., London: Macmillan, 1926, vol. I, p. 513) spoke of collective oaths among Aith Waryaghar (he referred to the phenomenon as "compurgation"), but his allusions to them, as well as his overall grasp of the nature of the problem, were fragmentary. Today, in the Rif, as a result of 'Abd al-Krim's reform, only the accused, without cojurors, can swear; women may do so as well.

"strangers *to* Aith Waryaghar" more than "foreigners *from* Igzinnayen"—there *is* a difference. And they are "strangers" who, for example, utterly unlike Ihawtshen—the morticians—attained a high political pre-eminence.) Their claim may be debatable, but it nonetheless illustrates the fact that they were fully aware, all along, that in their case at least, agnatic unity (so touted by social anthropologists) became a hollow mockery. And their case appears by no means to be an entirely isolated one, although they themselves self-reproachfully think it is. I know of at least four others (one in Aith Yusif w-'Ari of the plain, two in Timarzga, and yet another case in Aith Turirth itself), in three of which there were killings by agnates of each other;[55] and in the fourth (in Timarzga), there was a complete and utter division of property between two full brothers, after one suspected the other of poisoning his wife. (I know both brothers; they would have been at each other's throats if the Spanish authorities had not been present, for in 1954–55 this case was a very lively one.)

Vengeance killings within agnatic lineage groups may indeed be considered utterly deplorable by the surviving members of these groups, or at least deplorable in the abstract (though often coupled with a note of regret to the effect that "our forebears were tougher than we are"); but the data from Aith Waryaghar show that such events have occurred too often simply to be dismissed as exceptions to the rule. And, as a North African (though not a Rifian) proverb has it, "Nobody hates like brothers." Ideally, "blood is not to be sold or mortgaged," as a Waryaghar proverb, to the contrary says: and this, again ideally, applies to

[55] In the Aith Yusif w-'Ari case, a man shot his paternal uncle, and was then in turn killed by the son of that uncle, who then married the man's sister, his own parallel cousin; and that ended *that*. In the Timarzga case, a man killed his own brother over a question of inheritance; as he had heard that the brother was going to kill *him* over the same issue, he simply acted first. And the Aith Turirth case involved Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah, before the advent on the scene of the Fqir Uzzugwagh: three sons of Hand w-'Abdallah himself, Tufali, Misa'ud, and bil-Lahsin (all ancestors of present sublineages) ganged up on another son, their own brother, named Kakar, and killed him, again over his share of the inheritance. In punishment, however, they got none of it, and it was divided between the two remaining sons, Bu Tahar and Mqaddim (again both sublineage ancestors), for Kakar had conveniently died without issue. (Even though Bu Tahar did not participate in the actual killing, however, it is said that he tacitly approved Kakar's removal.)

the Aith Waryaghar as much as to any agnatically structured society anywhere. And, let us not forget, according to good solid segmentary principles, the sons of 'Amar Uzzugwagh stuck by their father against his brothers Mzzyan and Muh Akuh, at least. Nonetheless, the agnatic unit of vengeance here became, effectively, an agnatic *sub*-unit; and such cases of fragmentation, to my way of thinking, merit far more consideration than social anthropologists have given them in the past.

VII. REFLECTIONS ON AITH WARYAGHAR: A SYSTEM OF DISEQUILIBRIUM

In conclusion, we can only agree with Montagne's assertion that the Aith Waryaghar have a complex social structure; but I hope that this essay has adequately explained at least some of these complexities. From their point of origin in the Jbil Hmam, we have seen how the Aith Waryaghar proliferated and how their territorial units became reduplicated right down to the sea; we have seen how their organization into "fifths," again often consisting, on the ground, of territorially discontinuous units, was a shared collective response to payments of fines for murder on the tribal level; we have seen how the segmentary system corresponded in some ways to the territorial one, and how it failed exactly to correspond in others; and we have seen that on at least three occasions in its history the whole tribe acted corporately.

The above represents the warp of the social structure; while the woof seems to lie in the *liff*-system of two mutually hostile factions which cross-cut the segmentary and territorial systems. And here we have seen how, on a tribal level, these *liff*-alignments remained constant (or tended to do so), while on the local level they changed continuously. The effectiveness of the intrusive Imrabdhen as mediators and adjudicators was largely negated by the fact that so many of them, taking on a local color, as it were, feuded amongst themselves; and we have also seen that such mediators as there were among them tended themselves to be *imgharen* (though, of course, pacific ones!).

The incredible ramifications and convolutions which a single

feud could take have likewise been examined in detail, and alliance through marriage and hostility through inheritance (and other reasons) have been duly considered as well. The bloodfeud was an agent of decentralization and autonomy among local lineage groups, while payments of fines and the threat of house-burning were geared to have the opposite effect—to show a murderer that the collective *imgharen* were stronger than he was. But usually, as we have also seen, an *amghar* too was a killer; otherwise he would never have become *amghar!*

As Montagne himself pointed out,[56] the bloodfeud, in one way or another, was the central feature of social life, and the dispersion-patterns in settlement morphology (one house here, another on top of that mountain over there, a third halfway up another slope) of any local community in Waryagharland is a constant reminder of this fact. All members of the tribe are inordinately proud of being Aith Waryaghar, and for them the rationale behind the notion of *khams khmas* amounts to a virtual superiority complex; but the periodic push-together on the upper levels of segmentation was almost constantly undermined by a pull-apart on the lower ones, and vice versa.

Albeit constantly interrupted by internal discontinuity and reduplication, the clan, the lineage, and the local community in Waryagharland (as, of course, elsewhere) all form what is essentially a single structure and territorial continuum; for Waryagharland, *in toto*, is after all a single block of territory. Within this territory, the bloodfeud could either (1) be almost instantaneously turned off so that the whole tribe (or, if not, a whole "fifth" or a whole clan) could be galvanized into corporate action, as it was on three recorded occasions in its history, or (2) more commonly, play itself out *ad infinitum* on the autonomous setting of an inter- or intra-lineage stage which was set by the local community, until whole subclans or even clans were involved—or, indeed, here as well, the other way around. A theory which seems to enjoy current favor among some anthropologists is that segmentary systems tend to be linked with the concept of preda-

[56] Montagne, *op. cit.*, 1930, pp. 239–40. I have already discussed the case history which he gives for Aith ᶜAbdallah in a previous publication (Hart, *op. cit.*, 1954, pp. 63–64).

tory expansion;[57] and it might even be suggested that as the Aith Waryaghar could not expand their territory beyond certain limits (i.e., the Mediterranean), they turned in on themselves and feuded. (Even so, their expansion was a very long and drawn-out process, and seems to have been accomplished just as much by purchase of land from neighboring tribes, as we have seen in the Aith Turirth case,[58] as by actual conquest.)

Like an accordion, the Aith Waryaghar could and did squeeze together to play in harmony; but, more often than not, the keys were damp, the stops pulled out full blast, the instrument was pulled and (finally) wrenched apart, and the music ended in a discordant screech. Wholly aside from any external conditions at the time, it was to the great credit of 'Abd al-Krim that he knew how to play this accordion (and indeed all other local tribal accordions as well)—but nobody else did. And the final result was

[57] Marshall D. Sahlins, "The Segmentary Lineage: An Organization of Predatory Expansion," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 63, pp. 322–45. The material in this article is primarily taken from E. E. Evans-Pritchard's ethnographic classic, *The Nuer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), and from various publications by Paul Bohannan on the Tiv of Central Nigeria. The theory could be nicely adapted to fit the situations of certain Berber tribes in the Central Atlas and the Jbil Saghru (the Ait 'Atta are an outstanding example), and the solid historical evidence provided by Marcel Lesne (*Histoire d'un Groupement Berbère: les Zemmour*, Thèse complémentaire pour le doctorat ès lettres présentée à la Faculté de Lettres et Sciences Humaines à Paris, 1959) shows that this is unquestionably the case for the Zimmur as well; but the validity of the theory for, say, Berber tribes in the Western Atlas (for *all* Berber tribes have segmentary systems) seems questionable.

[58] Emilio Blanco Izaga, in his unpublished *Conferencia sobre Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño*, 1935, refers to Waryaghar encroachments, all again through purchase, in the Buham region west of the Ghis River, on Ibuqquyen territory. These in fact became so frequent, Colonel Blanco says, that the Ibuqquyen finally decided not to sell any more land to the Aith Waryaghar. In the same work (which I have translated, along with his other work, published and unpublished, on Waryaghar social structure, and hope to publish under the title, *A Spanish Army Officer on the Social Structure of the Moroccan Rif*), Blanco refers to a kind of elasticity (existing within a basic framework of rigidity), regarding tribal boundaries, an elasticity which becomes more permanent when the boundary is a natural frontier, like the Upper and Middle Nkur River between Waryagharland and Axt Tuzin, and the Lower Nkur between Waryagharland and Thimsaman. Cf. also the Waryaghar–Axt Tuzin boundary dispute settled by Sidi Mhand u-Musa in Waryaghar favor, in note 27 of the present article; the fact that it was so settled is not really too surprising, as the Nkur River constantly shifts its course one way or another, after a heavy rain.

hardly that favorite of social anthropologists, a (virtually timeless) equilibrium system; it was, rather that paradox, a system of *dis*-equilibrium *in* equilibrium,[59] and a system in which, as I view the matter, in fact as opposed to theory, segmental opposition outweighed segmental balance, on virtually all levels of the scale.

ADDENDUM

I finished writing the above essay in April 1965. Early in December of the same year, I learned that the bloodfeud within the lineage of Dharwa u-Fqir Uzzugwagh had at long last had a "happy ending": for in August of the same year two marriages of classificatory (and cross-generational) parallel cousins took place to heal the breach (one hopes) once and for all: one of the youngest sons of Muh Akuh Uzzugwagh (who died in 1957) married a granddaughter of 'Amar Uzzugwagh; and a grandson of 'Amar Uzzugwagh married a great-granddaughter of Mzzyan Uzzugwagh. Not only is this the first (and dual) instance of marriage between the descendants of 'Amar Uzzugwagh on the one hand and those of Mzzyan and Muh Akuh Uzzugwagh on the other that has (except for one case) yet happened, but it also illustrates another principle: that an expanding lineage can occasionally afford to be endogamous. (An earlier marriage in 1957 between an older son of Muh Akuh Uzzugwagh—probably hastened by his father's death—and a slightly older great-granddaughter of 'Amar Uzzugwagh had possibly begun to pave the way for the exchange of 1965.) The rates of endogamy in the lineages of Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah, Aith Mhand u-Sa'id and Aith Uswir, for example (all lineages local to Aith Turirth), are certainly somewhat higher than the endogamy rate in the Imjjat lineage of Dharwa u-Fqir Uzzugwagh. The latter were late-

[59] As manifested throughout, on all levels, by the feud, and in the overall *liff*-system, by the fact that three does not equal two, for, in effect, three "fifths" were pitted against two; e.g., ½ of *khums I* (Aith Yusif w-'Ari plus Aith Turirth), ½ of *khuns III* (Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper"), all of *khums IV* (Aith Hadhifa plus Aith 'Arus and I'akkiyen), and all of *khums V* (Imrabdhen), all constituting Faction A, *against* ½ of *khums I* (Aith 'Ari plus Timarzga), all of *khums II* (Aith 'Abdallah), and ½ of *khums III* (Aith 'Adhiya), constituting Faction B. The overall *liffs* were of course conceived as two halves, but in fact they were not; and on the local level, the struggle within Aith Turirth, for instance, was equally weighted.

comers to the region, and not only did they need allies, but they needed them in a hurry. And now, at last, a certain stabilization seems to have been achieved. (The Imjjat still remaining in Hibir, in Igzinnayen, however, are still as divided as they always were, at least as of December 1965, as I write this addendum.)